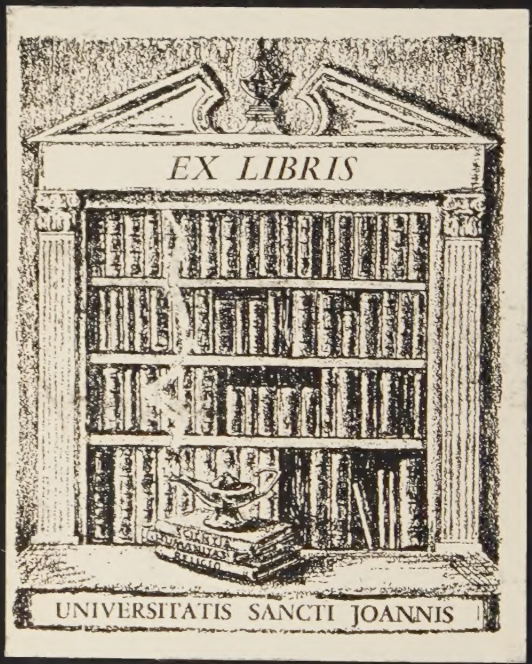
'What are The Catholic Claims?'

RICHARDSON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"WHAT ARE THE CATHOLIC CLAIMS?"

THE CATHOLIC ANSWER

TO

MR GORE'S BOOK ("*THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CLAIMS.*")

"WHAT ARE THE CATHOLIC CLAIMS?"

BY THE

REV. AUSTIN RICHARDSON,

LATE PROFESSOR OF THE "INSTITUT ST LOUIS," BRUSSELS.

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY BY THE

REV. LUKE RIVINGTON,

AUTHOR OF "AUTHORITY," "DUST," ETC.

LONDON

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, & CO., 1 PATERNOSTER SQUARE

1889

BX
1751
R52

251363

DÉDIÉ À

M. FRANÇOIS ALEXIS DETRIE,

DE BRUXELLES,

DONT LE ZÈLE ÉCLAIRÉ

FUT L'INSTRUMENT CHOISI PAR

DIEU

POUR M'ATTIRER DANS L'UNIQUE ÉGLISE,

CATHOLIQUE, APOSTOLIQUE, ET ROMAINE.

AU JUGEMENT DE CETTE ÉGLISE JE SOUMETS

TOUS MES ÉCRITS ET DANS SON SEIN

JE VEUX VIVRE ET MOURIR.

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INTRODUCTORY ESSAY.

By the Rev. LUKE RIVINGTON.

I have been urged in various quarters to write a reply to Mr Gore's book on Roman Catholic Claims in its new form. My book on "Authority" dealt with one point only, but the one point which ought to settle all else. But as people persist in going off from the main point, it is necessary to follow them in their various contentions. I have no leisure to do this myself, but the writer of this book has done it, and so complete is his answer that I willingly adopt it as my own also. I am dealing with one portion of Mr Gore's book, the last half of chapter vi., in a separate publication;* for the rest of it, it would be difficult to conceive a more thorough refutation than is contained in this book. However, I take the opportunity of touching on a subject with which I have long wished to deal. One of the main charges which Mr Gore brings against "Roman Catholicism" is that it is "unhistorical" (p. 12). He not only insists on this charge, but accompanies it with statements that savour more of warmth than dispassionate criticism. He says "this hopeless task," *i.e.*, of proving that certain dogmas are "portions of Christianity, at least in substance," "the Roman Church . . . can only accomplish by a treatment of antiquity, which is absolutely inconsistent

* "Dependence;" a sequel to "Authority." Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

with any honest attempt to read its record" (p. 12). Again (p. 13), "The whole of modern Roman literature has become saturated with a spirit of unfaithfulness to history and to fact." Again, "We have ceased almost to hope to find in a modern Roman writer a candid review of the whole facts of a case when the Roman claims or dogmas are in question." Again, "Candour—an attempt to fairly produce the whole case, a love of the whole truth—this seems to have vanished from their literature."

There is something exceedingly painful about the tone of such passages as these—their quiet assumption of higher morality in the writer, and his suggestion of his own inerrancy.

But what are we to say of such a passage as occurs on p. 109, in which Mr Gore informs his readers of the "certainty that ultramontane writers will always be found manipulating facts and making out a case, will never behave as men who are loyally endeavouring to seek the light and present facts as they are"?

Such wholesale incrimination of one's adversary savours rather of the schoolboy than the serious critic.

There are passages, too, in which Mr Gore speaks of individuals in a way that is, to say the least, not becoming. And in each case he can be shown to be mistaken. Indeed, one of the most serious mistakes in his book culminates with the flourish of words, "This passage is not quoted by Roman controversialists for a very plain reason"—the "very plain reason" being not what Mr Gore supposes, but the fact that the said controversialists would have been ashamed to assume such perversity of misinterpretation in their adversaries as to suppose they would quote such an irrelevant passage. Again, he actually quotes the famous letter of the Eusebian heretics (p. 97), rebels against the "Homoousion" as well as against the Holy See—men who had violently deposed

St Athanasius from the See of Alexandria, and Paul from the See of Constantinople, and Eustathius from Antioch —heretics of the worst form, Erastian to the core, holding a doctrine of which St Athanasius had said, "I wrote and endeavoured to convince the emperor that that anti-Christian heresy had no communion with the Catholic Church"—Mr Gore, I say, actually quotes from these men's letters, calling them "the Orientals," and, on the score of my not quoting the same, founds an accusation against my accuracy. These men "the Orientals"! Why, you might as well call the Wesleyan body "the Anglicans." St Athanasius calls them "impious men." Certainly, if the rebellion of these Eusebian heretics invalidates the authority of the Holy See, their rebellion against the doctrine of our Lord's divinity equally, in all good logic, invalidates the acceptance of that doctrine by the East. It is with a certain indignation that I retort the charge on Mr Gore. He has in that particular note seriously perverted history.

Yet history is claimed by him as the strong point of his position. The Roman Church, he tells us, is "unhistorical."

In one chapter Mr Gore gives us what he hopes is "a clear historical summary of the position occupied by the See of Rome in the successive ages of the Church" (p. 89). I propose to examine this summary. It occupies the whole of chapter vi., and Mr Gore admits that it is "an essential condition of any sound judgment as to what our relation towards the Roman Church ought to be." We are here, therefore, at the very core of the subject.

Mr Gore adopts towards the Church of Rome the method which M. Renan adopts towards Christianity in general. He endeavours to explain it as "a natural development of circumstances" (p. 103). But there is one master flaw in his summary. He deals with Church

history as Gibbon dealt with the progress of Christianity, and as anti-Christian writers usually deal with the evidences for our Lord's divinity. Gibbon, as Cardinal Newman points out, assigns various causes of that progress, but he fails to account for their coincidence, which, nevertheless, is the point to be proved. He, therefore, explains nothing. Anti-Christian writers, in dealing with the evidences for our Lord's divinity, invariably fail to take these evidences in their combined force, and so fail to appreciate their real value. Mr Gore does the same with the evidence for the Divine primacy of the Holy See. He fails to appreciate the *cumulative* force of the evidence, the difference between a passage or incident occurring by itself, and the same when it takes its place in a body of proof.

The tone of authority in one See, and the idea of that See being responsible for the care of Christendom, peeps out in the earliest days of the Church's life—as soon as her history begins. It is always in connection with Rome that these suggestive notices occur. Were they even faint and weak by themselves, they become irresistible in their combination. St Clement and the Church of Rome are found assuming a tone of authority at the very commencement of Christian history which ought to be startling to any but a Catholic. St Irenæus, in the second century, speaks of the Roman Church in language which exactly fits in with that same tone of authority, and (to use Mr Gore's words) as "the line of Roman bishops comes into clearer historical light, we begin to discern dimly the first beginnings of their claim to be the successors of St Peter" (p. 91)—surely a tremendous admission in presence of that other fact that our Lord had said to Peter, "On this rock I will build My Church"—a startling coincidence surely for the mere student of history. St Victor, in the second cen-

tury, ventured to proclaim that the practice of the Church of Rome was the common rule of the Church, and to state that every community that did not adopt the Roman order should be excluded from the unity of the universal Church—from the κοινὴ ἕνωσις, not from the Church of Rome alone. "How," asks the learned German Protestant, Professor Harnack, "could Victor have dared to attempt this, unless it had been admitted and recognised that it belonged pre-eminently to the Roman Church to define the conditions of the 'common unity' in crucial questions of faith? How could Victor have made such an unheard of claim upon independent communities, unless he, as Bishop of Rome, had been recognised in a special manner as the guardian of the 'common unity'? Even Irenæus seems not to have resisted the action of Victor as such, but merely in this particular case."

In this assertion of authority, which ought, on the Anglican theory, to have produced a very different sort of protest, Mr Gore sees only an abortive attempt, instead of the confirmation of a principle.

Again, when Tertullian, still in the second century, speaking of the various Churches in which an enquirer might find the true tradition, congratulates the particular enquirer on being close to Italy, so that he could get at Rome, and thus (as Tertullian's words may easily imply) at the fountain-head, and thereupon indulges in a burst of enthusiasm at the mention of Rome—the See into which the Apostles "*poured all their doctrine*"—what does Mr Gore see? Merely that "Rome is but one element in the consentient testimony" (p. 92). Yet no See is mentioned in the same way. And if Irenæus speaks of the Church of Rome as that to which, on account of her greater principality, all must resort, Mr Gore only sees a natural topographical centre, which led

to the faith being better kept, became better tested by contact with bishops from all quarters.

He does not see the *coincidence* between all this and the promises to St Peter in the Gospels, and the conclusion that is suggested by the coincidence.

All this, moveover, is in his judgment neutralised by the fact that Hippolytus is supposed to have created a schism at Rome, which is passed over in silence by other Churches. Her position could not be Œcumenical, we are told, because the shock was not felt throughout Christendom, or indeed anywhere else. Though there is no proof that it was not, except that there is no record of it. But why should it be recorded amid the scanty records of that century, when we are left in the dark about so many more important matters? But in spite of his endeavours to soften the effect of each recurring instance of Rome's authority as soon as history begins, Mr Gore admits that "the pre-eminence of that See is recognised," but contends that, "if the universal pastorate of a Bishop of Rome, or *a fortiori*, his infallibility is put forward as having a claim to be part of the Church's Catholic Christianity," there are two or three "facts" which show such a claim to be untenable.

Those "facts" are—the fall of Liberius, the 28th canon of Chalcedon, and the case of Honorius.

I will only say here of these that it is not an established fact that Liberius signed anything heretical—that the "28th canon" was not received by the Church—and that Honorius never taught the Church anything contrary to the true faith. For the proof of these statements I may refer to another work of mine, to be published shortly, called "Dependence."

Taking the entire history of either of these three incidents, the universal pastorate of the Bishop of Rome stands out as the governing fact. Let anyone, for

instance, read the chapter on St Leo in Mr Allies' "Throne of the Fisherman," and one feels it would become impossible for him to maintain the thesis which Mr Gore does in the sixth chapter of his book.

It remains only to say that the following pages seem to me of a nature to be of real assistance to anyone who is desirous to see the chasm that exists between the strong convictions of a good Anglican and the faith of the Catholic—the one resting on the study of history, and the other on an authoritative guide—the one, ever seeking to teach his Church her true faith, the other, under the power of her magisterium, docile and contented. It was a saying of Rosmini's, that he could almost wish to make a mistake, that he might have the joy of submission. None can really know that peace which passeth all understanding save through the portal of submission. If this book should be the instrument to lead any one soul to that joy, it is needless to say the writer will be more than repaid for his pains.

INTRODUCTION.

"The Roman Catholic Claims," lately reissued by the Rev. C. Gore, Principal of Pusey House, Oxford, as an answer to Mr Rivington's striking book, "Authority," already in its fifth edition, is indeed an agreeable change from what recent works of Anglican controversy have accustomed us to expect.

This book is the work of a scholar and a gentleman, but the author is more than this—he is a man of delicate feelings, who with a few exceptions shuns words and allusions capable of giving pain to Catholics. Not justice only, but real sympathy, constrain me to acknowledge this on the very outset, and to tender him my sincere thanks for having rendered my duty, if sometimes painful, at least compatible with kindly feelings and true respect. Let me beg him to believe that it is an earnest desire on my part to avoid anything like harshness of tone. My position as a Catholic will often oblige me to speak more severely of what I am forced to call "heresy," than *his* position forced *him* to speak of what he could regard as merely non-essential error, but I beg him to believe, that my desire to be both gentle and courteous, is no less real than his own.

In reading "The Roman Catholic Claims" the Catholic has not the painful task of wading knee deep through accusations, the fruit of evident malevolence, as he has to do in that repulsive book "Plain Reasons." His piety and Catholic instinct are not wounded by coarse

jests and coarser blasphemies against all he holds dear; he has not ever before his eyes, the grinning face of Voltaire, disguised in ritualistic garb, which all Dr Littledale's works suggest. On the contrary, it is clear, from various passages of Mr Gore's book, that this gentleman has no sympathy with Dr Littledale and his school, for, without naming anyone, he administers sharp chastisement to them for their flippant and uncatholic assertions.

On the other hand, after an attentive study of his work—and I have given it a *very* attentive study—the Catholic is forced to this sad but evident conclusion—Mr Gore's religion bears no resemblance to the faith of the one Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church. In spite of many amenities of language, it is clear that Puseyism (*i.e.*, the particular shade of High Anglicanism which appears in Dr Pusey's later works, and of which Mr Gore is the faithful disciple) in its principles and in its conclusions, in its rule of faith and in its worship, is utterly distinct from, and antagonistic to the faith of Catholics. Let us nourish ourselves no longer with illusions; we are in the presence of *two religions*, two distinct views of God, of Christ, of the Church, of the saints, of the sacraments. Mr Gore can only become a Catholic by the same process as the Frank Clovis—"He must burn what he now adores, and adore what he now burns," or would destroy by word and pen. It will be a distinct gain, if these pages can but prove this to all men, and true re-union will be brought nearer, when once the true state of the case is frankly acknowledged on both sides. Now the state of the case is this—our separation is caused by a disagreement on *first principles*, as Cardinal Newman so often reminds us. In these we have nothing in common, but a desire for reunion in Jesus Christ, all else we have in common, are

certain *accidental* points of agreement, to which divergent principles may have led us, but on these we cannot build, because they have not a common foundation.

I have said that this is the work of a scholar, I add that it is the work of a man of talent and of vast reading, but it is not the work of a theologian. I doubt if outside the Church it is possible to imagine a true theologian, for I mean by the term, not a self-taught genius, but one who has *learnt* by traditional teaching in the Catholic schools.

No Church student, who had for five years sat on the benches of our schools of Catholic philosophy and Catholic theology, could make the assertions regarding our doctrines which this talented man often does, or misunderstand terms, which are taught to the seminarist during his first year of theology.

I will now examine Mr Gore's work chapter by chapter. I see no cause for even changing their titles, as I do not wish him to make the same complaint of me, which he made, very mistakenly, I think, of Mr Rivington's "Authority," viz., that it did not even pretend to be an answer to the "Roman Catholic Claims."

But, firstly, as I am quite of Mr Gore's opinion, "it is always important to explain what exactly is assumed at starting in every book," I begin by stating what *are* the Catholic claims. Many of those stated in Mr Gore's work are *not* claims of the Church at all, and would be repudiated by every Catholic theologian. If Mr Gore *will* attack our claims, these are the claims which have to be attacked, and, these admitted, all other doctrines taught by the Church, whether the infallibility of her earthly Head, or the Immaculate Conception of Christ's Blessed Mother, must, in simple logic, be accepted too, but to touch on any of these points, until our claims have been accepted or rejected, would be mere loss of time.

The Catholic Claims.

First Claim.

That our Divine Lord founded *on earth* a Divine society, a Kingdom which was to remain, *as He founded it*, unto the end of the world.

Second Claim.

That this society or kingdom, is visible, and so visible that, while all are bound to become members of it, all, learned and unlearned alike, can see it and distinguish it, by clear marks, Christ has endowed it with *for this very purpose.*

Third Claim.

That the principal mark by which Christ Himself willed this society to be known and distinguished was its *visible unity.*

Fourth Claim.

That not only did Christ pray to His Eternal Father for this visible unity, but that He also proclaimed the immediate answer to His prayer by the words, "And the glory which Thou hast given Me I have given to them, that they may be one as we also are one," &c. (John xvii. 22).

Fifth Claim.

That this unity was not a vague or hidden mark, but of such a kind, that all men might distinguish it, and thus "that the world might *know* that God had sent Him, and had loved His Church as the Father loved the Son" (v. 23).

Sixth Claim.

That this unity is a *real* unity, the only *real* unity which can be predicated of a true society, viz., one which consists in mutual visible communion, and mutual visible recognition among its members—a *social* unity.

Seventh Claim.

That such a society, consisting of human beings upon this earth (for the Church militant *alone* is now under consideration), cannot, human nature remaining what it is, preserve the only true unity of a human society, without a visible, human chief, president, or head.

Eighth Claim.

That this society being at once *human* in its subjects, and *Divine* in its institution, must have a *divinely* appointed *human* head.

Ninth Claim.

That St Peter was such a divinely appointed head in the Apostolic College, although only the *equal* to his fellow Apostles in the gifts of the apostleship, in the gifts of infallibility, stability in grace, universal jurisdiction and mission. However, all these gifts were to be exercised in perfect union with St Peter as their head.

Tenth Claim.

That the Roman Pontiff is the true successor of St Peter, and the chief or head of the Catholic Church.

Eleventh Claim.

That *that* unity, necessary to a human society, which all the Fathers pointed out to heretics as the evident and

unanswerable mark of the true Church, is an *essential and abiding* mark of the Church, in all ages unto the end of time.

Twelfth Claim.

That this Apostolic and Patristic unity exists, *evidently and clearly to the whole world*, in the one Catholic Apostolic and Roman communion, and *in her alone.*

"WHAT ARE THE CATHOLIC CLAIMS?"

CHAPTER I.

THE "VIA MEDIA" AND THE CATHOLIC CHURCH.

THE object of Mr Gore's first chapter is to show that the Church of England keeps the middle course between Roman absolutism, which crushes human reason, and Protestant free judgment, which destroys all authority. He accepts for his Church the title of the *via media*, and he very truly says it was the glory of truth in all ages, to keep carefully between two extremes. Before going further I am obliged, even at this early stage, to make a protest, which I shall have to develop when speaking more fully of the Anglican position. I cannot admit for a moment that we are discussing on equal terms—in other words, that Mr Gore represents Anglicanism as I do Catholicism. I am but the humble disciple of the Church of God; I do nothing but repeat the universally accepted and defined doctrines of my faith. Mr Gore, on the contrary, is the spokesman of one particular school in his Communion. Nothing gives him the right to maintain that his views (the particular shade of High Churchmanship taught by Dr Pusey) are the defined and obligatory doctrines of the Established Church. It is a visible fact that his opinions are rejected by the majority of the Pan-Anglican communion. Therefore, when I speak of the Anglican *via media*, I mean no more than what Cardinal Newman meant by the term when he used it, viz.,

the peculiar position taken up by the Tractarians, in order to explain away the damning fact of their isolation from the rest of Christendom. With this proviso, I say that Mr Gore is playing with words, when he compares the *via media* of the Catholic Church, keeping the mean between two opposed heresies, and the impossible *via media* of High Churchmen, who would keep the mean between *heresy and truth.* Of a truth, the definitions of Nicæa, Ephesus, and Chalcedon kept to the *via media*, avoiding exaggerations on the one side and the other, but when once the Catholic definition was formulated, and when cautious, timid, or hair-splitting men arose, who tried to find another mean between the precise terms of the Council and the negations of heretics, and thus formed parties such as the Semi-Arians, the Monothelites, or the Semi-Pelagians, the Church admitted of no *via media*, no new, even if seemingly orthodox, expression, no silence, no acceptance of the doctrine while ignoring the Council, etc., but rather suffered all Christendom to be disturbed, emperors to persecute, to exile, and even to kill their bishops, their monks, and their people, rather than to yield one hair's-breadth in the interests of toleration towards error. This rigidity, this inflexible obstinacy, was incomprehensible to old-fashioned Anglicans like Jeremy Taylor, who only looked upon the matter as a quarrel over words.

Mr Gore has evidently no knowledge of the Catholic doctrine regarding the rights of human Reason. The Church has in all ages been the supreme defender of Reason. Not only has she struck with her anathemas those heretics who in the past have denied the rights of man's reason and of man's free will, such as Luther, Calvin, Baius, Jansenius, and Arnaud, but she has not even spared her own most devoted children when, with the

best of intentions, and, as they thought, in the interests of revelation, they have spoken slightingly of the powers of reason, and refused her any of her just rights. Excellent Catholics like Bonnetty, Ubaghs, and De la Mennais (before his fall), together with the whole school of exaggerated traditionalists, had to sign retractations for this very cause: because they did not allow to human Reason her just rights and powers. What then is the Catholic doctrine, admirably taught in the sacred decrees of the Holy Vatican Council, in the lucid Encyclicals of Leo XIII., and in that philosophy of the Angelical doctor, now made by papal decree the basis of teaching in Catholic schools? It is that human Reason, no less than Divine Revelation, is a gift of God, *donum Dei;* that by it we can arrive at *certitude* on all the subjects within its sphere; that by Reason alone we can arrive at the certitude of the existence of the one true God, *Creator et Remunerator;* that by Reason we can even prove the necessity of a revelation and of the existence of one only true religion; nay more, that by Reason we can show that the one true faith is none other than that taught by the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church.

In a word, Reason brings man to the very door of the Church, and, if it can go no further, if it cannot prove the mysterious dogmas of the faith, it is not from any inherent defect in Reason, but simply because these mysteries are not within the sphere of its perceptions. It is perfectly true that *in practice,* history and experience teach us, that unaided reason will not, universally or adequately, lead the human race to this certitude, even in the natural order, but here again this failure is not due to any defect in the instrument, but to the unfavourable circumstances in which the greater part of mankind find themselves—their lack of leisure, of patience, of instruction, and of impartiality. Nothing then can be more untrue than to

say, as Mr Gore says, that the Catholic Church of the nineteenth century refuses to reason her just rights, or strives to crush it under the heel of despotic despotism. Mr Gore, like many other learned English clergymen, has little or no knowledge of Catholic science or of Catholic men of learning. The ordinary Oxford theologian knows of nothing beyond the four seas, except perhaps the German Protestant Universities. Beyond this he imagines that Biblical criticism and Christian apologetics are unknown. His complaints, that the onslaughts of German and French Rationalism have been principally repulsed by Protestants, would raise a smile on the face of any learned continental scholar. Throughout the Catholic world, when these enemies of the faith are to be repulsed, it is not to the works of Godet, Delitzsch, Meyer, Westcott, Pusey, or even to the honoured name of Lightfoot, that we turn, but to such names (to single out a few amongst an army) as Beelen, Freppel, Patrizi, Schegg, Knabenbauer, Hummelaner, Cornely, Kaulen, Vigouroux, Drach, the converted Rabbi, and Glaire. The serious work of the *Muséon* of the Louvain University also deserves mention.

I cannot but think that Mr Gore is confounding two very distinct things. In the reverential, orthodox interpretation of the Divine Scriptures, as far as human science can aid it, Catholic scholars will always have the first place, but if it is only a question of the undoubted progress made during the last twenty years in the study of the literary and religious history of the Hebrew race, we freely admit that the palm is borne away not by Catholics, or by Protestants, but by Rationalists. It would be untruthful and ungrateful, while deploring the irreligious animus which stimulates their researches, to lessen the importance of the discoveries made in Biblical Archæology, Philology, and in the Bibliography of Eastern

nations by such men as Ewald, Wellhausen, Graf, Reuss. Kayser, Colenso, Renan, and Kosters, to name no others. But, frankly, is this theology? Is this knowledge, useful as it is, and worthy of praise as the fruits of God-given intellect, calculated to make holy men and to increase holy lives? Is not one such monumental work, as the sublime Commentary of Cornelius à Lapide, in its ten noble folios, worth more in the sight of God and Christendom, than all these learned scrapings in the dust of Eastern literature? Let me not be misunderstood. I honour *all* study, but I dare not compare the progress of holiness, with the progress of Archæology, especially when the moving spirit of the latter is too often a hatred of revealed religion, and the desire to cast doubts upon all which makes life worth living, death desirable, and immortality certain. I shall speak more fully of this subject in one chapter on "The Bible in the Church."

But to return to this subject of the rights of Reason with regard to private judgment. Here, again, Mr Gore entirely travesties the doctrine of the Catholic Church, and gains an easy victory by showing the necessity of using private judgment even in the very act of *choosing* an authority. The Church, as I said before, not only admits of this use of reason but proclaims it; defines as an article of faith that reason, *even without the light of revelation*, can arrive at much religious truth; and even that "reason *precedes* faith,"* and leads to it. What the Church, in full concordance with reason condemns, is the pretension of this same Private Judgment to exercise itself outside its sphere, and to discover with certitude, the interpretation of God's revealed Word, either in Holy Scripture or Tradition. The natural sciences afford several useful analogies—although, of course, they are but anal-

* Proposition signed by Mr Bonnetty.

ogies, and cannot be pushed too far—for there can be no comparison between the degrees of knowledge among men, or between the various powers of mechanical instruments, and the infinite gulf which divides Reason from Faith. However, let us take the simple analogy of the eye and the microscope. Is there the slightest "tone of distrust" (to use Mr Gore's expression) towards the power of sight, evinced in rejecting unaided sight, as the least criterion wherewith to discover the purity of drinking water? The microscopic world is simply beyond its sphere.

Or again, because private judgment is rightly used in choosing to accept the conclusions of astronomers, who throughout the world are unanimous, and the fulfilment of whose remarkable predictions proves them to be thorough masters of this difficult science, can we conclude that therefore the same use of private judgment would be reasonable, if used by these same persons in discussing astronomical questions, about which, their previous education or their natural talents had given them no trustworthy knowledge? Reason and critical examination are making a legitimate use of their powers when they examine the things of this world, and even the proofs of natural religion; nay more, even in the wide field of Theology, they are most useful, in the meditation and explanation of doctrines already proposed to them by the Church as of Divine revelation, or left to their judgment as articles not defined; again, in the examination of the sacred text, in the interests of philology, archæology, history, or natural science, their action is both legitimate and useful. But the Church rightly condemns the action of Private Judgment in striving to explain mysteries, or in its pretensions to interpret *with certitude and authority* the doctrinal meaning of God's revealed Word, written or unwritten, in including or ex-

cluding passages or books from the sacred Canon, or in defining the nature and limits of inspiration. These subjects are infinitely more beyond its ken, than the animalculæ or molecules are beyond the ken of the unaided human eye.

Again, reason and study are in their rights when, before the full gift of faith, they strive to discover *where resides* that Teacher sent from God, which reason can show, from the very nature of God, must exist somewhere; but, having once been persuaded of its existence in a given Communion, it is an act, not only of impiety but of folly, to criticise or dispute its decisions in a given case. Our reason, from the marvellous history of Catholic civilisation, and the various arguments of natural religion, leads us to the conviction, that the one Catholic and Roman Church *is* this infallible Teacher sent from God; our reason, no less than our piety, forbids us to dispute Her decisions when once they are made plainly clear to us, on all questions of faith and morals, which alone are within her sphere of action. I need not say that *in practice*, the Divine gifts of faith and grace will always be the most powerful, but unseen agents in deciding our submission to the Divine Teacher.

Mr Gore's next object is to prove the necessity of the Anglican position as the *via media* in presence of the exaggerations, on one side and the other, of the Eastern and Western Churches. It is hardly necessary to point out what a revolution this makes in the idea of the *one Church*. It is no longer the Catholic Church which is the *via media* between two opposed heresies, but *one branch* of the Church, which is to be the *via media* between two others, each of which are in error, and yet are orthodox and Catholic! However, can anything be more arbitrary, more like a system invented at leisure in an Oxford study, than the distinction he draws

between the vocations of East and West, seemingly to drag the Church wrong in one direction or the other, and to require the happy medium of Anglicanism to set it right? Mr Gore tells us that the function of the Greek Church was to enunciate clearly the doctrines of the Holy Trinity and the Incarnation—in a word, to be the scientific theologians of the Church; the function of the Roman Church, on the contrary, was to maintain the authority of the Church—in a word, to her was given "the faculty of empire." There is, of course, this grain of truth in this system, that, as a rule, *with many exceptions*, in the first six centuries the Greek clergy were more learned than the Latin, and that the See of Peter, being the centre of Unity, showed herself so to be; but, in point of fact, does early Church history point to any such hard and fast distinction of action?

The saints and doctors of the Eastern Church were perfectly content to teach the Faith once delivered in the simple language of their forefathers until the *subtlety of heretics* obliged them to define and to distinguish. In this the Catholic bishops throughout the world acted in the same manner; in every Council, whether held in the East or the West, they simply proclaimed aloud the old faith of Christendom, condemned the errors of heretics, and then, aided by the Holy Ghost, formed new terms to protect true doctrine. As most of these Councils took place in the East, the definitions and terms naturally owe much to Greek learning and to Greek clearness. But what is, alas! too true is the fact that to Greek sophistry and Greek perversity the Church owed the greater part of the heresies which desolated the early Church, and to this same sophistry and perversity, joined to the slavish submission of the Greek world (with noble exceptions) to the usurpations of the Civil power over holy things, is due the miserable Greek schism. Mr Gore says, "History

forces us to recognise in the Roman claims the main cause of the schism of East and West." Such words are in their place in the *Church Times*, or in Dr Littledale's "Plain Reasons," but they are utterly unworthy of a scholar like Mr Gore. May I ask Mr Gore to point out to us in what manner the Roman claims were the cause of the schism under Photius, or of the definite schism under Michel Cerularius? Was not the true cause of these unhappy schisms, the shameless wickedness of the first, and the violent and blind hatred of the second of these two men? Neither of these outbreaks was in the least degree caused by any pressing forward of the claims of St Peter's See; on the contrary, nothing could exceed the patience and moderation of Rome in striving to preserve the peace of the Church. Therefore the Greek Church is no "breakwater," to use Mr Gore's expression, against the force of the Roman claims, but is rather a striking example of the fate of Churches and nations which break away from the paternal supremacy of St Peter's See, to fall under the brutal despotism of the Civil power.

Mr Gore's next argument in favour of the *via media* taken up by his Church, is the success which has accompanied the putting in practice of this theory. If we would believe him, Pan-Anglicanism is *now* on an Orthodox basis. To prove it he brings forward the late Pan-Anglican Synod, which met at Lambeth in the summer of 1888. Mr Gore begins by a remarkable sentence. Is it possible that so acute and clever a man does not see that *this one sentence* utterly annihilates his whole system? It is easy to see that Mr Gore and his followers looked on the Synod with very reasonable alarm, and asked themselves in trembling, "What may they *not* do?" The relief and satisfaction at the comparatively safe document the Synod issued

gives itself vent, in the thankfully naïve words which follow, the italics are my own: "It is *surely wonderful* that in the conference of bishops of the Anglican Communion in this year, a proposal which was made (if report speaks true) subversive of the principle of the apostolic succession should not have been able to get a hearing!!" *Surely wonderful!* Now, imagine a Catholic, calling it wonderful, that, in a conference of Catholic bishops, their lordships refused even to discuss the question of the necessity of Episcopal ordination, or indeed of bishops at all! Can Mr Gore think such a body a branch of the Church Catholic? Could he say such words regarding any Catholic Councils of the early Church? However, I see nothing wonderful. The contrary would have been a subject for surprise had the Pan-Anglican Fathers done what any orthodox assembly of bishops was bound to do—dragged out the proposition into the light of day, and solemnly condemned it as grossly heretical—that *would* have been *surely wonderful.* As it was, they simply followed all the precedents of Anglicanism in the past. They found that many believed in the *necessity* of bishops and many did not, they therefore did what Mr Gore tells us the reformers did with troublesome questions in the articles, "they shelved the question."

But on the following page Mr Gore gives us a sad but practical proof that his *via media* is but another name for heresy. I regret this passage, and, by a private correspondence with Mr Gore, I have striven to induce him to modify it, but have only obtained vague and illusive promises as to "*future Editions*" which I cannot accept. Catholics like to believe that, at least on the doctrine of the Real Presence, the advanced school, typified by the "Pusey House," believe with them. Mr Gore, in words which he refuses to

modify, plainly denies that real and abiding presence of Christ's Humanity, which is held not only in the Catholic Church, but in all the separated bodies of the East. He quotes, as his authority, a passage from Cardinal Newman, which, although its terms would be easily understood by any student accustomed to scholastic phraseology, is not in the ordinarily lucid style of that mighty genius. From these words Mr Gore draws this conclusion from the Real Presence as therein described: "While it agrees very well with the ancient use of the Eucharistic mysteries, agrees very ill with some modern practices, attractive as they are, connected with the tabernacle and the monstrance." Now, these so-called modern uses, are simply the adoration of the God-man Christ Jesus, truly and entirely contained under the sacred species, *wherever those species may be*, either in the tabernacle, in the monstrance, or in the pyx when carried through the streets to the sick. He bases his objection to these uses, on the fact that the Real Presence is "supra-local, and not susceptible of change of place." Of course, if this were the case, these *uses* would be simply the grossest fetichism. Our Divine Lord would *not* be in the monstrance, in the ciborium, in the pyx—to bow the knee then before Him as if He were, would be the grossest idolatry.

How Mr Gore can call such practices "*attractive*" I cannot imagine; from his point of view they must be both blasphemous and repulsive. But the Catholic doctrine is, that our Divine Lord, true God, and true Man, with the very same human body which was nailed to the Cross, is really present in the sacred Host, wherever it may be, either in the pyx, in the tabernacle or in the monstrance, on the throne of exposition; that our Divine Lord is truly lifted up, truly carried through the streets in procession, truly enters the houses of the

sick, as truly as when He walked the streets of Jerusalem or entered the house of Martha and Mary. Mr Gore has entirely misunderstood the words of Cardinal Newman. Our Divine Lord's body is not *in loco* in the sacred species, in the sense that one body (in its ordinary state) is said to be *in loco* in another body; as, for example, a relic is in its shrine, part corresponding with part, but this "substantial" presence, although the presence of a *body* and not of a spirit, is, as the Cardinal beautifully says, "spirit-wise," *juxta modum spirituum.* This, of course, is the mystery, but although beyond, it is not contrary to reason, for, as the Cardinal elsewhere observes, we know nothing of the nature of pure substance. But for all that, the presence of our Lord is truly a "local" presence, according to the meaning of that word in English, viz., "*restricted to place.*"* The presence of our Lord, *as God and Man*, is absolutely restricted to the sacred species, wherever they are, and is *nowhere else*, save at the right hand of the Father in heaven, as the catechism so clearly teaches every Catholic child: "Christ as God is everywhere, *as God and Man* He is in heaven, and in the blessed sacrament of the altar." Mr Gore, who substitutes "spiritual" for Cardinal Newman's "spirit-wise," and "non-local" or "supra-local" for *non in loco* (in the same sense as in heaven), enunciates a proposition which, to the Catholic, is nothing less than heresy, and, of course, *would* make the adoration of the reserved or exposed sacrament the grossest idolatry."†

* See Appendix, page 154.

† Dr Littledale lately astonished the British public by calmly informing it, in a letter to the *Times*, that Roman Catholics had given up believing in transubstantiation, but had preserved the term merely for the form! Surely he must feel that the tolerance accorded to a privileged jester has its limits.

CHAPTER II.

THE UNITY OF THE CHURCH.

THE whole of Mr Gore's chapter on the unity of the Church is based on an amphibology in the use of the word "Church." This word means several things. It may stand for the union of all the members of Christ on earth, in purgatory, and in heaven; or it may stand for any one of these three divisions taken apart. The only matter before us, the only matter in which there can be even a question of human authority or a human head, is the nature of the *Church militant here on earth.*

When we speak of the Church as the *union of these three mystic bodies*—the Church militant, the Church suffering, and the Church triumphant—it is evident that we can only consider it in connection with its sole Divine Head, Jesus Christ, God and Man. In this mystic conception there is no room for Popes. The Pope once dead, ceases to be what he was on earth, the chief or head of the militant Church, and he has appeared before his Lord to give an account for deeds done in the body, and to take that place in Eternity, which those deeds have merited.

Mr Gore therefore simply throws the subject into utter confusion and chaos, when he not only makes no distinction between these two applications of the word Church, but when he confuses the two, speaking now of this concept, taken as a whole, now of the

Church on earth. The three parts of the Church taken together, are composed, partly of living men, and partly of disembodied spirits, and therefore such a mystical Body could not have a merely human and earthly head. As the catechism teaches the smallest child, the sole Head of the Church, taken in this sense, is "Jesus Christ our Lord." But we have in view *the Church on earth*—that earthly yet Divine society which our Lord Jesus Christ founded on earth *super hanc petram*—"on this cepha, Peter or Rock." That society which he compares to a kingdom, to a city, to a net, to a sheepfold. This is a society of *men*, and is therefore subject to all the *essential* conditions of a human society; it is a society founded by *God*, therefore all those essential qualities are abiding and unalterable.

This is the society which must be *one*. Do not let us confuse the subject by the consideration of how it is also *one* with the Church in purgatory and the Church in heaven. These considerations belong to quite another sphere of ideas, and must be taken in their proper place.

That this Church militant on earth must *also* be one, is what no High Churchman would deny, although in his book Mr Gore does not plainly and frankly acknowledge it, because he introduces the confusion of ideas we have just alluded to. However, on this point there is no dispute—the Church on earth must be *one*. But what is the *nature* of this unity? Here begins that vital, that fundamental, divergence of first principles, which makes of Anglicanism and Catholicism two distinct and antagonistic religions. In any case, one thing is certain—that this necessary unity of the militant Church is the same as that unity prayed for by our Divine Lord, and which He proclaims His Eternal Father to have granted Him, when He says, "And the glory which Thou hast given Me I

have given to them, that they may be all one as we also are one" (John xvii. 22). But in what does this unity consist? Again one thing is clear, that it is of such a nature as to make itself visible and evident to all men, to the World in fact; for to attain this end was it given "that the World may know that Thou hast sent Me."

It is no vague or hidden mark; no mark which can only be discovered by learning and study. No; Christ came to save the *human race.* He commands them, as they value their eternal salvation, to become members of this society, to "hear the Church;" therefore, like a good and loving Father, He gave His Church such clear marks that all, learned and ignorant, bond and free, should recognise her at once.

But would such a Unity as Mr Gore allows the Church have this effect? Would a unity which merely consists "in that inward supernatural life, that life of the spirit, which she (the Church) derives through sacramental channels" (p. 36), obtain for the Church the universal recognition of her unity by the world?

Mr Gore says that the unity *he* admits is perfectly compatible with the divisions of Christendom into East, and West, and Anglican branches. Possibly, but is this unity recognised by the world? Does the world see by this evident mark, that God has sent His Christ, and that He loves the Church as the Father loves the Son? (v. 23). Do we hear this concert of voices going up from the *orbis terrarum*—"Whatever else is doubtful, nothing can be clearer than that the Romans, the Greeks, and the Anglicans form one Church; unity is stamped indelibly on this three-branched Church?"

But if one thing is more certain than another, it is that the *Fathers* used unhesitatingly this argument to the heretics of *their* time. They took our Lord absolutely at His word; they pointed to the clearly visible and undis-

puted unity of the one Church, and proclaimed that God could no more be divided than could His Church; they pointed to the unanimous verdict of friend and foe, of Pagan and Christian, of Greek and barbarian, that, whatever else the Catholic Church was, at least she was unmistakenly ONE.

And it is equally certain that the Catholic Church, in communion with St Peter's See to-day, no less than in all ages, uses precisely the same language. She appeals to the unhesitating verdict of the World, hostile as well as friendly, that, whatever else she may be, at least she is indeed *one*, and marvellously one.

I confess that, to my mind, this one argument, in spite of what Mr Gore says: "great questions are not decided on single issues" (p. 9), to any one who believes in the Divinity of Christ, is enough to convince him of the truth, and to oblige him to submit to the Catholic Church without delay.

I will not fill up my book with extracts from the Fathers. I consider nothing so unsatisfactory as these disconnected extracts, which can be made to say anything. Mr Gore, as a patristic scholar, will recognise the fact that all the Fathers look upon visible unity as an essential and *abiding* mark of the Church. He admits it (p. 132), but strives to break the force of the admission by saying that the Fathers did not know and foresee everything; that they did not, *e.g.*, contemplate the idea of Christians making war against Christians; but I think Mr Gore would not seriously maintain that, while teaching placability as a virtue, the Fathers considered its universal practice a mark of the Church? Mr Gore's Spiritual Unity fails in its most necessary function; it is no mark by which the world may distinguish the true Church, and he has only to look about him to perceive this. Does the world, does Christianity as a whole

recognise as a fact, that the Roman Church, the Eastern Church, and the Anglican Church form one Body?

Who in the whole world acknowledges this? Not the Catholic and Roman Church who anathematises it as a heresy, or rather as a *deliramentum*. Not any of the Eastern schisms or heresies, for they all have at least preserved enough of the doctrines of antiquity, to believe in a real unity *somewhere;* not the vast majority of Protestants, either within or without the Anglican communion, for, various as their interpretations of this text would be, they would all unite in repudiating Mr Gore's. To what a *reductio ad absurdum* have we then come? This world-evident unity, given by Christ to His Church for the very purpose of rendering all inexcusable who do not submit to her, is, in this nineteenth century, known and recognised, only by a school of Oxford divines and their disciples in the Pan-Anglican world. This is the *orbis terrarum* which *securus judicat!* *

* This difficulty is felt by thinking men among Anglicans. It is brought out very strongly in a striking sermon preached in Passion Week 1886, at St Edmond's, Lombard Street, by the Rev. C. W. H. Baker, Secretary of the Maritzburg Mission Association. Speaking of the Church on earth, he says, "The body should be no more divided than the Head. Our Saviour went to the Cross with an intense yearning for the unity of the Church. The unity of the Church was meant to be an outward expression of the unity of heaven, nay, of the very unity of God. The mission of Christ in history is *disbelieved* and *disowned* in consequence of the divisions of Christendom. Alas! inter-communion is interrupted; the Church is not externally one body. She does not appear to be one family; she does not bear the outward impression of being one holy home." And yet Christ *said* to His Eternal Father, 'And the glory which Thou hast given Me *I have given* to them, that they may be one as we also are one . . . that the world may know that Thou hast sent Me, and hast loved them as Thou also hast loved Me' (John xvii. 22)." Either then these words are not true, or else Christ *has* endowed the true Church with this "outward expression of unity," the absence of which, Mr Baker bewails in the three-branched Church of his imagination.

We maintain, then, that we have proved our case, and that the unity granted by Christ to His Church, that by it the world might know that God has sent Him, is a real, *social* unity, *i.e.*, the only real unity which can be predicated of a human society, viz., one which at least consists in perfect communion of all its members, and in full and mutual recognition of its members one by another as forming part of this society. To insist that Catholics, Greek "orthodox," and Anglicans, belong to the same Church, in spite of their indignant repudiation of any such assumption, is an idea not less grotesque than it is unreasonable, and could only remain in so cultured a mind as that of Mr Gore by one of those mysteries which baffle our understanding.

CHAPTER III.

THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH.

As with the words "Unity" and "Church," so with the expression "the authority of the Church," it is impossible even to enter into the subject, until we have shown that we use these words in an entirely different sense to that employed by Mr Gore. The "verbal sign" is the same, but the two ideas which it excites in the mind of the Catholic and of the Anglican are absolutely distinct and antagonistic. The Catholic takes the words in a particular, technical, traditional sense; they mean to him: *the absolute, peremptory power, from which there is no appeal, exercised by a living existing voice, commanding the assent of his intellect in God's name, and speaking as God's instrument.* In a word, the authority of the Church is: the power of the *Word* of God spoken by the mouth of *God-appointed and living men.* Careful attention is called to this definition.

Mr Gore, on the contrary, merely means by authority *the intellectual influence (ending in the assent of the mind), which the personal and individual discovery, of the witness of Christian antiquity, will exercise on the well-disposed Christian.* This witness, if we find it constant, ubiquitous, and unanimous, becomes to us an *authority;* and "submission to that authority," as he says, "is the merging of our mere individualism in the whole historic life of the great Christian brotherhood; it is *making ourselves* *

* Italics are our own.

one with the one religion in its most permanent and least merely local form" (p. 51). This excellent effect will doubtless follow the learned Christian's study of antiquity, but it is as distinct from the Catholic idea of the "authority of the Church" as the East is from the West. It is the joy of those who possess learning, leisure, and talents. The authority of the Church, is the guiding principle, the proximate *motivum fidei* of every Catholic, of the simple peasant and the merest child, as of the greatest intellect and the most profound philosopher.

The question before us is then simply this—which of these two ideas is correct? Which of the two was in the mind of the God-man, when He commanded us, under peril of eternal death, to "hear the Church"? The answer, I think, will not be doubtful if we consider these things—(*a*) the action of God's providence in all ages, (*b*) the words of Christ Himself and of His inspired Apostles, (*c*) the causes for which this authority was instituted.

(*a.*) In the whole history of God's dealings with the human race, as recorded in Holy Scripture, it is the constant rule of His providence to make the direct revelation of truth the *exception*, and, when such a revelation is granted, it is made, not to mankind at large, or even directly to his chosen people, but to special men, to whom authority is given to proclaim the same to the world, and this proclamation is to be received, though from the mouth of *men*, as the very Word of God Himself. It would be an easy task to fill pages with proofs of this, but it is in nowise necessary—it must be recognised as a self-evident truth by all those who know and accept the Bible.

(*b.*) That our Divine Lord in nowise derogated from this rule will surely need no discussion. The four

Gospels teem with proofs, that to His Apostles, Christ communicated the treasures of the new and more perfect Revelation of heavenly mysteries; that this was His legacy, His testament left them, not in writing, but by word of mouth, imprinted on the fleshly tablets of their hearts, preserved there entire and incorrupt by the gift of the Holy Ghost, given for that very purpose; and that this gift of the Holy Ghost, not only recalled ever to their remembrance all things which He had said to them, but also gave them the true, Divine, and infallible interpretation of what before was obscure, even to their holy, child-like, and apostolic minds—in a word, it "led them into all truth." With even greater clearness than to the patriarchs of God, does Christ proclaim their teaching-authority—"*As* the Father hath sent Me, so send I you. . . . Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature"—"Whoso heareth you heareth Me"—"If he (any man) refuse to hear the Church, let him be unto you as a heathen man and a publican," &c., &c. But to quote adequately, would be to quote *all* that Christ says to His Apostles, concerning the universal mission he had given them. That the Apostles had perfectly understood their Lord is not less evident from the tone of all their writings. The humility of the terms in which they speak of their unworthiness as *men*, is not more striking than the unhesitating and absolute authority they claim as *Apostles*, and as the mouth-piece of the Church. In this capacity, they claim the absolute submission of their hearers' intellect to "the Word preached by their lips," it being nothing else than the very Word of God, and this under pain of eternal anathema to those, be they, as it were, "angels from heaven," who dared to resist, and be the resistance but to one iota, one jot, or one tittle.

(*c.*) But that the Catholic doctrine concerning the

"authority of the Church," which Mr Gore calls "the Roman idea" (p. 47), is also the true one, is clear from the very nature of the Church, and the object our Divine Lord had in view in founding her. He grieves over the spectacle of humanity scattered over the whole world as sheep having no shepherd. The God-man, knowing our frame, remembering that we are but dust, pities us, as a father pities his own children, and, therefore, when His visible Presence was no longer there, when His Divine and awe-inspiring form, when the magic of His voice were taken from us, He deigned, as it were, to live again, in His mystic body the Church, to speak to us, with no less authority, because mediately, by the mouth of His appointed ministers, living in their successors until the end of time. The authority accepted by Mr Gore—that intellectual *persuasion*, which is the result of the study and comparison of ancient documents –would have been utterly inadequate to the task of converting the world, of leading all with certainty and security into one fold—in a word, of insuring that visible Unity which was to be the proof to the world of the Divine mission of the God-man.

Mr Gore, with strange inconsistency, acknowledges the very restricted circle in which *his* authority would be felt. "The poor and the uneducated must of course depend upon their immediate teachers" (p. 50). But must we not go much further than this? Is not this equally true of the nine-tenths of the human race, of those who, without being poor or uneducated, have neither the talents, nor the aptitude, nor the leisure, for this very patient and laborious, although much to be applauded, research into the documents of antiquity? Nay more, are we not compelled to say that, even for those *âmes d'elite*, this admirable and sublime intellectual discipline, this study of history, this weighing of evidence, this sanctifying intercourse with the heroes and saints of antiquity,

although it is calculated to form noble characters, is *not* of a nature to insure perfect security in the all-important matter of Divine revelation. The truest, the noblest scholar, soon learns to doubt himself, and to feel that in the difficult study of antiquity he may have lost his way. The numberless divergences of Christian scholars around him, only strengthen this modest doubt. But if security is denied him, how much more are constancy and stability? May not some new discovery of unknown ancient documents entirely upset his present views? Some "Refutatio" or "Elenchus" of St Hippolytus, edited by a Bishop Wordsworth or Mr Gore; some recently discovered fraud, "False Decretals" or "Forged Greek Catena;" may not some wonderful Dr Littledale discover flaws in the Papacy, which render it unnecessary even to consider its position, no Pope having existed for several centuries!!*

Surely, in the face of all these difficulties, we may improve Mr Gore's formula, and say: "*All men*, learned and unlearned alike, must depend upon their immediate and living teachers, if they would know with theological certitude, the doctrines which God has revealed to His Church."

Mr Gore brings forward two arguments in favour of his idea of the authority of the Church, viz., the rights of human Reason, and certain passages from the Fathers. We will proceed to examine them. With regard to the rights of Reason, I have in a former chapter shown that the Church has ever been the firm defender of these rights; but I think I have also shown that it is beyond the sphere of human Reason to establish with theological certitude, the true interpretation of the record of antiquity, regarding the doctrines of revelation, and,

* "Or some petition from Convocation, turning out to be a petition from Parliament."—*N.B.* by Luke Rivington.

therefore, it is doing Reason no wrong, to admit that these questions are beyond her sphere. But the Church is the first to acknowledge the use of Reason, even in the fundamental question of the proximate *motivum fidei*. If Reason is insufficient to *discover* these doctrines, Reason is amply sufficient to recognise the marks of the "Divine Teacher." The greatest scholar may, after years of study, remain in doubt as to the record of antiquity upon a given subject, but the meanest peasant is perfectly able to distinguish the unity in doctrine, discipline, and worship of the *one* Church.

Mr Gore says "the poor and uneducated must of course depend on their immediate teachers." This is perfectly true of Catholics, for by so doing they depend on teachers, who everywhere teach the same doctrines, and obey the same authority, but how can the poor Anglican do so? His immediate teachers are ready enough to teach him, but hardly any two teach alike. If he is convinced of his *own* ignorance, his reason and common sense are not less convinced of the utter confusion which reigns among his would-be teachers, and his natural conclusion is, that they have no more *certain* knowledge of the matter than himself. In the little town from which I write, the five ministers of the Establishment, who have each of them received a Diploma to teach in its name, would possibly give five discordant explanations of any doctrine, on which they were interrogated. Mr Gore quotes with approval, and is, I fear, a disciple of Dr Mahan, an American, a member, I believe, of the Protestant Episcopalian body. The doctrine contained in this talented author's "Exercise of Faith," is little better than a veiled scepticism, graced by the name of this first of the theological virtues. Mr Gore seems also to have little idea of what a Catholic means by "Faith." He speaks of it as "a basis of security, in the

strength of which, it is probably good for every good Christian to feel a certain amount of hesitation" (p. 50), and again he calls it "a *quite sufficient* security." These expressions do not go beyond what Catholic theology calls "probability," which, even in its highest degree, leaves always a certain amount of doubt—it exists *cum formidine de opposito*. The certitude of faith, on the contrary, is a real certitude, and exists *absque ulla errandi formidine*, and this absence of the slightest hesitation or doubt, is *of the essence* of Divine faith. Nothing, then, can be further removed from the idea of faith which satisfies Mr Gore. He even looks upon this intellectual hesitation as a virtue, as a Christian discipline, as the explanation of the words "seeing through a veil and darkly in a mirror," words which, to the Catholic, have an utterly different signification, and refer to the impossibility for the human mind of *grasping or comprehending* the mysteries of God. He asks, if a submission which is merely conditional, which is docile, but not absolute, and implicit, is so reasonable towards human and secular authority, is so rational, so wise, and so excellent, why should it become so, monstrous, when the same kind of submission is offered to the authority of the Church? (p. 51).

The answer of the Catholic is clear, because the conditions are altogether different. Man's sublime, and God-given Reason, owes this absolute submission to none but to the Almighty and Omniscient giver of it. If the authority of the Church, if the living voice of the Church, is anything less than the voice of the Almighty, speaking through His chosen instruments, nothing at the utmost but *high probability* can be given to its dogmas. In this case it is incapable of affording that certitude, that *motivum*, upon which an act of Divine faith can be made. But if the voice of the

Church *is* the voice of God, I do no dishonour to my reason. I make, on the contrary, my best use of it, when I bow it down in absolute, implicit, unquestioning, and undoubting submission, to the Eternal Fount of all Wisdom speaking to me through the voice of His Church; and the effect upon my intellect is, not the adequate comprehension of the mystery, not even the solution of every difficulty, but the most *absolute certitude of which it is capable*, bringing with it that peace of God which *surpasses* all understanding.

With regard to the few extracts Mr Gore gives from the Fathers in support of his idea of authority, they are nothing more than the directions, which all Catholic teachers have in all ages given, to those who would examine the verdict of Scripture and antiquity. Lacordaire, Newman, Perrone, Franzelin, or any living Catholic doctor, would give precisely similar instruction, to the student of antiquity, to that Mr Gore quotes from Irenæus, Tertullian, Cyprian, Vincent of Lerins, and Chrysostom. Their method is the only true method—would to God that Mr Gore and the many talented and excellent men of his school would put it in practice. It would lead them irresistibly where it led Cardinal Newman and Mr Allies—two men who have so studied the Fathers, become so saturated with their doctrine, that, in reading their works, we seem to hear an echo of those mighty voices of the past. That wonderful masterpiece, "An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine," which no Anglican I ever met with has studied and meditated as it deserves, is a little epitome of the Fathers, and the most exact putting in practice of their rules for the study of antiquity. But can Mr Gore believe for a moment that it was of knowledge thus obtained, that the Fathers would form the proximate *motivum fidei* of the Catholic? Do these picked passages from their

works, which give the *regula studiorum* of the *loci theologici*, efface or contradict their constant and universal recognition of the living voice of the Church, as the proximate motive of faith, obligatory on every Catholic? I will not give myself the easy triumph of quoting extracts from the Fathers. I recognise the impossibility, in the limits of this small volume, of giving the reader any adequate idea, of the persuasion of the Fathers, and the saints in all ages, that to the Church, ever living and ever endued with equal powers by her Lord, was due, not relative, not conditional, but *absolute* submission, both of the intellect and of the will. They knew nothing of an "early Church" deserving a fuller obedience than, what was to them, the "modern" Church. They rejected with horror the impiety of those heretics, who dared to disparage Chalcedon, in honour of Ephesus, or who were ready to accept the doctrine, while rejecting the Council. They admitted no inferiority in the Church of *their* day to the Church of *former* days. Then, as formerly, it "had seemed good to the Holy Ghost" and to the successors of the Apostles to decide. On the contrary, to appeal to Scripture and to antiquity, against the modern, existing Church, to "go behind," as Mr Gore says (p. 21), several centuries, and from these to "begin afresh," was ever the mark of heretics.

Let the reader who cannot *read* the Fathers (for dipping in here and there to find references will be of little good), let him consult that admirable work of Waterworth, "The Faith of Catholics," republished quite lately by Pustet, in three volumes, under the headings of the "Authority," "Visibility," and "Indefectibility" of the Church, and he will find pages and pages of extracts from the early Fathers, which prove as clearly as the day, that (*a*) they never doubted for a moment of the necessity of

absolute submission to the living voice of the Church; (*b*) that they utterly reject the idea of the true Christian having any difficulty in recognising the voice of the Church, for, as St Cyril says, "The Church is, in truth, lofty and conspicuous, and well known to *all* men in every place"—Ἐστιν ἀληθῶς ὑψηλη καὶ περίοπτος, καὶ γνωριμωτάτη τοῖς ἁπανταχοῦ (Com. in Isa. ii. 2); (*c*) that they do not admit for a moment the extraordinary idea of Mr Gore, that there ever can be a time of confusion in the Church, in which the unlearned Christian has the greatest difficulty in feeling and picking his way. The words of Mr Gore, "There was never, perhaps, a time of confusion in the Christian Church, equal to the second century," these words, applied to doctrine, would be, in the mouth of a Catholic, the grossest impiety. That such seemed to be the case to the *pagan* philosopher, who made no distinction between orthodox and heretic, is very possible, but, in point of fact, Christianity presented *then* the same spectacle it has *always* presented—one united Church, surrounded by countless warring sects.

In the passage from Dr Mahan, quoted by Mr Gore in a note, is an example of what looks terribly like bad faith. We are shown a poor perplexed pagan, coming to St John Chrysostom, and asking advice as to the means for discovering the truth. Dr Mahan gives the saint's directions for the proper study of antiquity, and ends (in Dr Mahan's version) by leaving him "to make his way clear through the mazes of the complex guidance." If this course were really necessary for all converts to the true Church, we might justly say that Christianity would be a mere delusion and a snare; but, on the contrary, St John Chrysostom, as if recognising the quasi-impossibility of arriving at truth by mere study, proceeds to do, what any Catholic priest would do to the enquirer—give him the notes or marks of the true Church, plainly

visible to all men, learned or unlearned. This is an example of what Anglicans have to expect from their untrustworthy guides.

Mr Gore ends by explaining, in what sense he accepts of development in Christian doctrine. I have little complaint to make with this, except to remark that the "explicit" recognition of *all* that the Church in after ages defined as articles, implicitly, but really, contained in the Divine Depositum, was most certainly *not* held always, *everywhere*, and by *all*—yet Mr Gore requires this *explicit* recognition (p. 43). The inspiration of certain books of Scripture, the *clear*, *distinct*, and *unmistakable* teaching of the Consubstantiality of the Word, the eternal Sonship, and *eternal* Syncatabasis of the Son, the validity of heretical baptism, etc., were undoubtedly *not* held *everywhere* and by *all*, with that explicit fulness with which they were afterwards defined, and some of the Fathers use language, which would, if used now, be absolutely heretical. It is quite possible for the human intellect to hold propositions, without recognising, by a reflex vision, all that those propositions contain. The man who accepts Euclid's definition of a triangle, *implicitly*, acknowledges that any two of its sides are greater than its third side, that its three angles are equal to two right angles, that one of these angles being a right angle, the sum of the other two, is equal to one right angle, but it is quite possible that he has never *reflectivé* recognised these truths. Nevertheless we may say, that he truly *holds* them, and that they form *equally* part of the deposit of geometrical truth. In direct contradiction to Mr Gore I am forced to point out, that the validity of heretical baptism is not a mere "matter of discipline," but strictly an *article of faith*, and does "touch the faith of individuals," which Mr Gore denies. The individual who denies that baptism, given by

heretics (p. 54) is valid, affirms a heresy, from which St Cyprian can only be excused, by the explanation of St Augustine, that the point had not yet been defined by the Church. The Fathers, when they recognise Mary as the second Eve, and dwell upon her share in the scheme of Redemption, in connection with the second Adam, evidently hold doctrine, which implicitly contains the truth of her Immaculate Conception, although it is doubtful if, before the Pelagian heresy, the entire consequences of original sin were *reflectivé* present to the minds of the Fathers. When again the Fathers clearly teach the necessity of communion with Peter's See, they teach doctrine which absolutely includes its infallibility, although it is probable that what they had in their minds, was the exterior or corporate unity of the Church, rather than the unity of the faith, which is its necessary corollary. Against this infallibility, Mr Gore uses words, the injustice of which, every student of antiquity, whatever his religious views, must recognise and condemn. He speaks of St Liberius, in the moment of the utmost strain and deepest distress, in the Arian controversy, instead of being an aid and help to the Church, turning traitor and repudiating St Athanasius (p. 49). I ask any fair-minded scholar if this is a true representation of facts? Whatever the nature of St Liberius' fall, it is certain that he was considered (and the Roman See generally), as the unfailing defender and champion of orthodoxy. His weakness, whatever it was, was but momentary, and certainly had no evil effects on the Catholic cause. Immediately after (having in some way, the exact *details* of which we shall never know, shown the white feather) * we find him received in triumph at

* Mr Rivington in his new book ("Dependence," Kegan Paul & Co., London), gives powerful reasons for holding that St Liberius never fell at all.

Rome by the orthodox party, in full communion with St Athanasius and the Catholics throughout the world, condemning fearlessly every form of Arianism and Semi-Arianism, and imposing canonical penance upon those pious but weak Catholic bishops, who at Rimini and elsewhere, had allowed their love for peace to get the better of their fidelity to the letter of the Nicene definition. Short indeed must have been his defection, if such there was, and no sooner done, than repented of and atoned for. Certain it is, that it never lost for him one atom of the prestige of his office, and that he remains in the history of that mighty struggle, an athlete and a life-long defender of the Creed of Nicæa. It is possible that, wearied out by exile and persecution, he accepted anything that was asked him, but that no sooner was he free than, like St Peter, he saw the fault he had committed, and, hastening to Rome, resolved, by a life-long struggle against heresy, to atone for the weakness of a moment.

But for a further account of this supposed lapse I refer the reader to Mr Rivington's new book, quoted below.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BIBLE IN THE CHURCH.

We now come to the most important chapter in Mr Gore's clever work—the *regula fidei*. There, as elsewhere, he remains true to his system of the *via media*—he tries to find a mean between Catholic doctrine and Protestant heresy. According to the Protestant, the rule of faith is Scripture alone, interpreted by the Christian, aided by the guidance of the Holy Ghost. According to the Catholic, the rule of faith is, Scripture and tradition, interpreted by the infallible teaching of the Catholic Church, or, more correctly, it is *the "verbum Dei traditum," the Word of God, delivered to the infallible interpretation of His Church, part of which was, at a later period, committed to writing, under the inspiration and with the assistance of the Holy Ghost.* According to Mr Gore, the rule of faith is, Holy Scripture *alone*, interpreted by the Church.

Mr Gore ably rejects the ultra-Protestant theory. He shows that Church authority preceded by many years that of the written Word, at least in its entirety, and that the Bible, taken as a whole, depends upon the witness of the Church, to assure us of the authenticity of several books, and the inspiration of all.

What Mr Gore seems not to have remarked, is that all his objections to the Protestant rule, tell with equal force against his own. I maintain that his rule is false (*a*) because it could not have been *always* the rule of faith—

it is not therefore a *stable* rule; (*b*) because the very nature of Holy Scripture forbids it—it is not therefore a *safe* rule.

Mr Gore repeatedly affirms that Holy Scripture is the sole *source* of Divine revelation. But this was certainly not always the case. The *whole* of the new and perfect revelation of our Lord Jesus Christ, was made to the Apostles *by word of mouth*. For several years, not a word was committed to writing. Therefore, at least during these years (leaving out of consideration for a moment the books of the Old Testament), the sole *source* of revelation was Tradition—the *verbum Dei traditum*. Until the year 96, when it is believed St John wrote his Gospel, this "Word of God delivered," portions of which were being gradually written, as one after the other the Gospels and Epistles appeared, was the source of revelation. But, according to Mr Gore, hardly had this eventful year closed, than all was changed. Hardly had St John written the last word of the last book of Holy Scripture, than the *verbum Dei traditum* ceased to be even *a* source of Divine inspiration. By a miraculous intervention of Divine power, *every single Divine truth* which the Lord Jesus had revealed by word of mouth to His Apostles, had been written, some here and some there, in these occasional and quite independent tracts and letters, addressed sometimes to individuals, sometimes to congregations, without the least previous arrangement between their authors.

What reasoning, thinking man does Mr Gore imagine he is going to convince by such prodigy? Where does he learn it? Certainly not from the words of our Lord, who, when He delivered all His revelation to His Apostles by word of mouth, ordered them (and naturally their successors) to preach to all nations, unto the end of the world, and promised them the gift of the Holy

Ghost, in order to keep every word of it in their remembrance, and, to interpret all infallibly: "when He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He will teach you *all* truth" (John xvi. 13). He gave them no command to write one word of His revelation, and we have but the word of the Church for the knowledge, that later on they did, inspired by the Holy Ghost, commit *certain* of these truths to writing. But neither the Church nor the holy writers themselves, have ever informed us that they thus committed *all* they had received from the Incarnate Word. What right has Mr Gore, what right has any man, so to affirm? But, *a fortiori*, what right has he to affirm that the Word of God delivered without writing, which the Apostles preached far and wide, to which they appealed, without ever appealing to one syllable of the written New Testament as their authority, that this sacred unwritten Tradition, has for one moment ceased to be a true source of revelation?

But I say, further, that the very nature of the books of the New Testament, forbids the notion that they, together with the Old Testament, form the *sole* source of revelation. Their very nature and style, the circumstances which caused their production, show that their authors had no idea of forming a *necessary* treatise of Christian theology. They address Christians already instructed in the faith, by the Word of God delivered (by Divine tradition, in fact), *requiring* no more, for their salvation and sanctification. They write to cheer, to instruct, to confirm. They follow no systematic rule; leave many subjects untouched; speak only partially, and even vaguely, of others; never even hint that, in times to come, their writings will all be collected together into one book; and clearly and plainly say that the truths they have already preached by word of mouth are, no less than the truths they are now writing, the Word of God. For

long centuries after the death of St John, it is this same "Word of God delivered" which is preached throughout the world, and which ended by converting the Roman world. Certainly the apostolic and sub-apostolic preachers, frequently refer to the writings of Holy Scripture, and always as the Word of God, but not till centuries have passed do they consider it necessary to examine carefully, and to classify, all the books of Holy Scripture, and to bind them into one volume.

What, then, is the clear verdict of antiquity and of common sense? That the God-man delivered His revelation by word of mouth to the Church; that by the gift of His Holy Spirit He preserved this Revelation entire and undefiled in His mystic body, without any need of writing or other mechanical process; and that this Divine guidance was amply sufficient, to preserve His Revelation entire, and to interpret it infallibly to the end of time.

What, then, is Holy Scripture? I answer: it is a superabundant treasure, given by that God, who is rich in mercy; a priceless, unpromised treasure, which God confided to His Church, to be by her used for the edification and nourishment of her children. But it is more than this. It is, as the Church enlightened by the Holy Ghost informs us (and without this information we could never have known it), the inspired Word of God, a true and real source of Revelation, the first of the *loci theologici*. It draws its inspired character direct from God Himself. In the words of the Holy Vatican Council, these books are "held as sacred and canonical, not *because* they have been approved by the Church's authority, but because, having been written by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, they have God for their author, and have been delivered as such to the Church herself" (Sess. iii. 2). But, at the same time, beside this source

of Divine revelation, stands, and ever will stand, the *verbum Dei traditum*, as venerable, as Divine, as necessary to-day, as it was on the very morrow of our Divine Lord's Ascension. In the playful words of dear St Francis: "Birds have a right wing to fly with, is not therefore the left wing necessary?" For the necessity of Tradition, for the fact that it contains many truths not recorded in Holy Scripture, I cannot refer the reader to a more lucid and charming book than Mgr. Rutten's "Cours Elémentaire d'Apologetique Chretienne," Schonberechts, St Trond, Belgium. Would that it were translated into English, and became classical in all our schools!

That this was the belief of the Fathers, the English reader can see for himself in the long extracts on the subject in Waterworth's "Faith of Catholics." I will only quote the words of St John Chrysostom: "Therefore, brethren, stand fast, and hold the traditions which you have learned, whether by word or by epistle (2 Thess. ii. 14). Hence it is plain that they did not deliver all things by epistle, but many things also without writing, and both those and these are *in like manner* worthy of credit" (Tom xi., Hom. iv., p. 615, Benedictine ed.).

On the witness of the Fathers, Mr Gore has a characteristic passage: "St Basil has a passage which alone (as far as I know) in the writings of the first six centuries appears to countenance strongly the Roman view." For those who know the cautious style of writing peculiar to Dr Pusey, and plainly perceptible in all his disciples, every word of this tells. The passage in which St Basil, *as plain as words can say*, declared tradition to be of equal force with Scripture, Mr Gore says, not that it is precisely the doctrine of Catholics, but that it *appears* to countenance the Roman view;" not that it is the only passage of the Fathers of the first six centuries which

does so, but which does so "strongly." Other passages, I suppose, do so weakly. Not that even this is *certainly* the only strongly countenancing passage, but "as far as I know."

But even this passing swallow which does not make a summer, must be got out of the way, so Mr Gore informs us that St Basil is merely speaking of discipline, not of faith. Have we not almost the right to lose patience with him, and ask him at least to turn to the treatise in question, of which he gives the reference? The saint is addressing the impugners of the divinity of the Holy Ghost, whose favourite boast was that Holy Scripture did not clearly show the Holy Ghost as a distinct Divine person, but rather as some created virtue proceeding from the Son, and he says: "Of the *dogmas* and teachings preserved in the Church, we have some from the doctrine committed to writing, and some we have *received transmitted* to us, in a secret manner, from the tradition of the Apostles—both of these have the *same* force in forming religion." Is it possible to say more than this? If this were the only passage to be found in Christian antiquity, spoken as it is by such a champion of the faith, and never contradicted, would it not be more than enough to prove our point? Of what possible consequence is it what examples St Basil gives; do they efface the words "dogmas" or "both have the *same* force," which is the question before us? Is not this, to use Mr Rivington's phrase, throwing dust in our eyes? Would Mr Gore treat the writings of the Fathers as if they were the thirty-nine Articles? He will find little in any pre-Reformation writers directly aimed at the refutation of his theory that the Bible is the sole source of revelation, because, with the exception of a few dreamers like the Waldenses, Lollards, and Hussites, such a *deliramentum* had not yet been broached.

Mr Gore then goes on to quote the Fathers in favour of general Bible reading, though I fail to see the connection with his subject. He admits that the Church is the sole interpreter of the sense of Holy Scripture, therefore the duty of general Bible reading cannot flow from the fact of Scripture being the sole source of revelation. He forgets himself, and falls into pure Protestantism, in which, of course, this general reading *is* absolutely necessary. However, let us follow him. Catholics know full well, and Father Clarke, S.J., in his lucid article in *The Month*, January 1889, has so clearly shown, what are the Church's doctrines on this subject, that I will content myself with quoting one of Father Clarke's propositions: "(1.) In normal circumstances, and among the faithful children of the Church, the reading of the Bible is *generally* and *strongly* encouraged."

The extracts from the Fathers which Mr Gore gives, and we may thank him for his moderation, for he might have filled his book with others equally strong, and brought out an enlarged edition in several volumes, proclaim the mind of the Church in all ages towards the divine Scriptures. The pious Cultus Catholics pay to the sacred volume, far surpasses in degree and in kind, the approval and jaunty familiarity which simply shocks them in too many Protestants. The saintly Catholic reads the Bible *on his knees*, and shudders to see it lying on the coffee-room table of some hotel beside Ouida's or Zola's last novel. However, to an educated man, who knows what a Bible must have been in patristic days—its enormous size and its exceeding costliness—to take *au pied de la lettre;* the exhortations of a St Chrysostom or a St Gregory to his hearers, to search diligently the Scriptures, cannot but provoke a smile. When we consider that in the Cathedral Church at Con-

stantinople was, as we were informed, a mighty throng assembled of rich and poor, bond and free, slaves and nobles, eagerly thirsting to hear the Word of God—three-quarters of whom could perhaps not read at all, and nine-tenths of whom could no more hope to possess a Bible than to possess a white elephant—we can easily understand the true meaning of these eloquent exhortations, viz., to excite the greatest veneration for the sacred oracles of God among *all* men, and the ardent desire of those who could do so to study them for themselves. When a Lacordaire, a Liddon, or a Freppel exhort their hearers to consult the last edition of the "Codex Sinaiticus," reproduced by photo-lithography, they well know their words are not literally addressed to the pious city clerks, who, nevertheless, draw much edification from the sermon, taken as a whole. I strongly protest against Mr Gore's words: "It is obvious what audacity is involved in this withdrawal of Scripture into the background, if Christ's intention was that Scripture should be the constant practical guide of individual souls" (p. 60). The Church, so far from placing the Divine Scriptures in the background, gives them the foremost place in the *loci theologici*, although she does not consider them as the *sole* source of revelation. But I hardly know how to express my astonishment at these last words. Can anything excuse a grave author writing on grave subjects in such a strain as this? I now ask Mr Gore to point out to us, when and where Christ expressed this intention? When and where did He command every individual to make of Scripture the guide of his soul? When and where did the Saviour even hint that any part of His Revelation would be committed to writing, much more give any command that this should be done? I have before affirmed that never, except in certain critical times, has the Church put any restraint upon her

children in the reading of Holy Scriptures. Certainly in the present age she encourages and blesses this pious study. Mr Gore cannot refrain from bringing to the front the recent condemnation of M. Lasserre's unfortunate version of the Gospels, and, as I know a few details of this matter, I will put it in its true light. In the first place, can anything be more grotesque than the tone of commiseration and pity which authors like Dr Wright take in speaking of M. Lasserre? It is evident that they hope to goad him into rebellion, for any rebel, even a votary of "*Notre Dame de Lourdes*," is dear; but, as M. Lasserre is not only an excellent Catholic, but also a very prudent and practical man of business, these gentlemen will have their pains for nothing. Piety, and the Holy Roman Church have done no injury to M. Lasserre. His beautiful book on *Lourdes*, made him a rich man, and well has he deserved his success; his literary talents are not less striking than his sincere piety. His twenty-five editions of the *Evangiles* have been for him a splendid commercial success, and even his condemnation will probably only usher in a more striking triumph. The loss sustained by the calling in of the *édition de luxe*, will be more than covered when a new and revised edition will be prepared. All who have bought the old editions, will be eager to buy the new ones, and, from an advertisement I received the other day, I gather that his publishers have managed to get rid of their old stock, useless for Catholic France, by drafting it upon Protestant England, already worked up to the proper state of anti-papal indignation by a cheap edition of Dr Wright's pamphlet, "The Power behind the Pope." Truly the Pope is not a hard despot, and a papal condemnation is no cause of commercial ruin!!

But there are more important sides to this question.

Protestant England will believe anything of benighted Papists, but, to one who knows the Continent as well as he does his own country, nothing can be more absurd than the idea of Dr Wright, and persons of his stamp, that there is any lack of French translations of the Scripture. They abound, from the old translations of De Sacy to the modern ones of Mgr. Glaire and De Genoude. M. Lasserre does *not*, as Dr Wright seems to imagine, complain of the *lack* of French Bibles, but of their literary style and traditional divisions. But how ridiculous are these complaints, when re-echoed by English Protestants! The very same objections exist to our versions, and where is the Englishman who would like to see them abolished? Is not the style of our Bibles, whether Catholic or Protestant, more archaic and old-fashioned than any French version? Are not our Bibles cut up into chapters and verses? Yet these are the complaints of M. Lasserre, and Dr Wright re-echoes the wail, as a proof of the neglect of the French Church to procure readable Bibles for her benighted children! Does Dr Wright think that his *protégé's* plan would have any success in England? Imagine an English Bible got up in the style of a railway novel, without any divisions, except one of new chapters, according to the subject written about, in the style and language of a first-class leading article in the *Times*, and suppressing all the difficulties, by the simple process of giving to these passages the sense most pleasing to the author. Does he think the British evangelical public would like it?

There is *a* mystery in the matter, and only one, and that is how such a version ever passed the first Censor. This explained, all the rest becomes clear. An Archbishop of Paris has other things to do than to read over once more all the books which have passed the Censor. The *imprimatur* is then given as a matter of course.

The encouraging letter of the holy Father is of the ordinary kind,* written under all similar circumstances. Catholics know full well that it does not assure their books from future censure, if errors are found in them. M. Lasserre's book might have passed, if he had entitled it "The Gospel Story" or "The Life of Christ," but when once he ventured to call his audacious, peremptory, *ex cathedra* decisions on some of the most difficult passages of the Bible "*Les Evangiles*," nothing but a condemnation could have been anticipated. Some of his renderings are daring to a degree, and decide questions which have divided the greatest theologians, and which the Church has purposely left open.

As for M. Lasserre "making the Bible known to French readers," such rubbish is only equal to the legend of Luther finding the Bible. I have before me two versions, the one much cheaper, and the other about the same price, as M. Lasserre's four Gospels. The first is *all* the New Testament, by Mgr. Glaire, in as good French as M. Lasserre's book, and far more scholarly, though the Biblical style is preserved, much to the advantage of dignity. The other is *the whole Bible* in a handy pocket volume, almost as badly printed, and on almost as poor paper, as the cheap Bibles dear to Protestant eyes; the French is good and rather modern, and some of the translations rather daring; it is by De Genoude, and is useful, but, of course, not learned. These books can be got anywhere. M. Lasserre's strictures on much of the "fade" religious literature of the day, are echoed by cultured Catholics everywhere, nowhere more so than in France.

* An even stronger one was written to Mgr. de Segur on a work afterwards placed on the Index.

CHAPTER V.

THE PROMISE TO ST PETER.

THANKS to Mr Gore's scholarship and loyalty, my task on this chapter is not a heavy one. Mr Gore knows too well what our Divine Lord *did* say to St Peter, to deny that it was on Peter, the Rock, He promised to found His Church. Mr Gore grants this without the least hesitation: "It is difficult, I think, to feel any doubt that our Lord is here pronouncing the *person* of Peter to be the Rock" (p. 72). But he goes further than this—he admits that our Lord not only promised but performed His promise, which is more than most Protestants will admit in this as in several other cases. He quite recognises that "St Peter undoubtedly held the primacy in the apostolic college" (p. 76). "That he was the 'Coryphæus' of the apostolic band" (p. 78). "That St Peter's peculiar position, given *him in virtue of our Lord's promise*, was a leadership in the apostolic band" (p. 81). That "St John Chrysostom very frequently recognises the primacy of St Peter (he might have said the same thing of every Father who speaks of St Peter) that he calls him the Chief of the Apostles, the mouthpiece of the disciples, the leader of the band; that he speaks of St John and St Paul allowing him the Primacy" (pp. 83, 84). At first sight one is tempted to ask, what more do we require? What more can the most ardent Catholic say than that St Peter was the Rock and foundation of the Church on earth, and the divinely-appointed

leader of the Apostles? But we have to deal with a disciple of Dr Pusey, who can blow hot and cold, who can perceive the doctrine of the Mass in the article which condemns the sacrifices of Masses. This wretched *système de bascule*, which we can never forgive Dr Pusey for introducing into Anglican theology, is seen at its worst in this chapter. I ask the reader what ancient document is safe with such reasoning as this? The "*undoubted* primacy," which Mr Gore recognises (p. 76) in St Peter, he tells us "carries with it no distinctive powers, but is a personal leadership among equals." What does this mean? Of course it is a *personal* leadership—what else could it be? "No distinctive powers"—what is a distinction which does not distinguish? "Amongst equals"—equals in one sense, but, if St Peter is their leader, there must be *a* sense in which they are not his equals. In whatever sense he is *first, in that sense at least* he is superior to the second.

Then on page 78 St Peter is again recognised as leader: "But his position as leader does not seem to carry with it any prerogative of primary importance." A primacy which is not of primary importance, can only be conceivable in a body of very *little* importance. The divinely-appointed primate of a body sent by God to conquer the world, must surely be endowed with prerogatives of *very* primary importance. That God should change a man's name to that of Rock, and proclaim that on this Rock He will build His Church, as Mr Gore admits, and not, by so doing, vest him with prerogatives of anything but secondary importance, is an assertion which revolts the commonest feelings of reverence. On page 79 Mr Gore says: "The history would seem to suggest that St Peter's special function was one which had to do with the opening of Church history," and then, we suppose, to cease. In other words, God Incarnate made him the Rock on

which He would build His Church—that Church against which all the powers of Satan were to be hurled in vain ; but this Rock, this foundation, was only to be so temporarily, for a few short years after Christ's ascension, then the *foundation* was to "retire into the background as St Paul rises into prominence" (p. 79) — a dangerous substitution if attempted with human architecture. Would not "scaffolding" have been a more appropriate title than "rock" for Simon, son of Jonas? For this view of a temporary leadership, Mr Gore gives a characteristic note. He quotes the authority of Tertullian, but calmly adds : "His very powerful exposition is *reduced* in authority by the Montanist animus of the passage, which is aimed against the perpetuity of the power of loosing in the Church" (p. 79). Now, if I did not know the loyalty and good faith of Mr Gore, should I not have a right to be indignant at this? As it is I am only tempted to lose my patience, and to ask Mr Gore, where he thinks this trifling with words will lead him to? A heretic, once a noble champion of orthodoxy, in his rage against the Catholic Church, and specially against her visible head, the successor of St Peter, in order to escape from the consequences of St Peter's ever abiding Primacy, invents a system which tallies with his heresy, and good, worthy Mr Gore brings up the invention of this unhappy heretic, as a "*powerful exposition*," the authority of which is merely "*reduced*" by the unimportant fact that it was concocted by a heretic, to prove his heresy! Of a truth this evidence of Tertullian *is* weighty, but its only force is to show to what, the noblest minds, whether in Carthage in the third century, or in Oxford in the nineteenth, can fall, when they would attack the abiding stability of that Rock, which possesses the promises of One who does not repent, or fail in what He has promised.

Mr Gore is too good a patristic scholar to deny that the Fathers accord to St Peter and to his successors, the Roman Pontiffs, some kind of Primacy, but he maintains that this is utterly different in degree and in kind to that which the Roman Church now claims. To prove this he imagines claims which never were made, and easily disproves them from the records of antiquity. His thesis is, that up to the fifth century a certain deference was paid to St Peter's successors, but that, during the pontificate of St Leo the Great, claims of an utterly different character began to be made by the Roman Pontiffs and writers of what he calls the "papal school." Does he not see the utter impossibility of such a theory?

In the first place, what an indignity he thus offers to those glorious and saintly confessors! Let Mr Gore remember he is speaking of Saints. Anglicans seem to look upon this affix as little more than a title of courtesy and convention, something like the conventional esquire of modern days. Let him remember that, at least until the Reformation, his ancestors, no less than the rest of Christendom, looked on these men as "saints reigning with Christ in heaven," before whom the Christian cast himself on his knees, and, with uplifted hands, implored them to succour him by their prayers; beings at whose invocation they believed miracles to be performed. Dare he accuse these saints, of the most Satanic of all the vices, of pride? Men who were always preaching humility, were they themselves eaten up all the while by pride? It is no pride to preserve intact Divine privileges handed down to our office from the times of our Lord Himself—this St Paul and the other Apostles ever did with jealous zeal—but is it possible to imagine a crime more atrocious, pride more deadly, than to usurp honours, and authorities, and privileges, which our predecessors never had, and this at the expense of our brethren,

taking from them their just and imprescriptible rights? If Mr Gore really believes that any ancient Popes or their disciples acted thus, let him at least begin by sweeping them out of his calendar—they are the servants, not of the meek and humble Jesus, but of Lucifer. Anglicans have no idea of what Catholics mean by a Saint or by sanctity,* or they could not make these, to us, blasphemous accusations.

But, again, such a theory is impossible, because if certain Roman Pontiffs and their aiders and abettors had even dared to make such new and unheard-of claims, there have never been lacking, thank God, holy men, East and West, to refute them, and to reduce them to silence. Does Mr Gore imagine that if St Leo's claims had been otherwise than true and universally admitted, they would have been borne in silence? Would the Eastern bishops, would the Emperor at Constantinople, whose interests were plainly not to yield to any *unlawful* claims of a Western bishop, have tamely yielded to such claims? Would no voice have arisen at Chalcedon to denounce the usurper, to declare the vanity, the novelty of such pretensions? All those who know what was the

* A painful example of this is seen in "The Lives of the Saints," by Mr Baring-Gould, an ultra-Ritualist. The title, saint, is refused to none of the subjects of these biographies, but many of them, if Mr Gould is to be believed, were the reverse of holy. I ask in amazement what, except the desire of undermining the faith of his readers, could have urged this gentleman to waste his time upon such worthless beings? It would be difficult to conceive greater miscreants than several of the men Mr Gould describes, although, *in truth*, those he thus slanders, were the types and models of perfect sanctity and Christian heroism, and were beloved and venerated as such by our Catholic forefathers. The unscholarly hyper-criticism, gross irreverence, and halting logic, are beneath contempt; but, for all that, it is difficult to imagine a more dangerous book, or to hope that the half-taught Anglican who reads it, will escape without the total loss of all Christian faith.

rigid conservatism of Catholic antiquity, what its hatred of novelty, what its zealous guardianship of all ancient customs or privileges, will be convinced that no bishop could advance new claims void of any basis in immemorial custom, even over one mile beyond his lawful boundaries, without a shout of indignation being raised on all sides. Not even the power of an absolute monarch could enforce obedience to new claims, which he favoured, in order to glorify his imperial city, without meeting a most vigorous resistance. How much less could a bishop, entirely deprived of all temporal power, far removed from the seat of government, ruling in a rival city, which it was the object of the Emperors to humiliate in favour of their beloved Constantinople, obtain the peaceful, unopposed recognition of claims to a *divinely*-appointed Primacy of government and jurisdiction, if these claims were new, or were advanced in the place of a right to a mere *honorary* primacy? Had this been the case, how different would have been the language of the Eastern Emperors and bishops, when striving to obtain ecclesiastical arrangements which the Popes opposed. Their language would not have been that of supplication, but of denunciation and anathema—and rightly so.

Mr Gore's theory is not only impossible but is also untrue in fact. St Leo and those saints he calls of the "papal school," proclaim no new system, they advance no other views of the divinely-appointed Primacy than those accepted in all ages. Mr Gore imagines that the "papal school" since the fifth century and the Catholic Church of to-day, teach that St Peter, as an Apostle, stands on different ground to that of the other Apostles; that he alone received direct and immediately all the graces of the apostleship, and then communicated what he pleased to them—in a word, that they were Apostles

by the delegation of St Peter; that the Roman Pontiff stands in the same position towards the other bishops; that he is alone the true, perfect, directly and divinely-appointed bishop, and that all others are merely delegated by him and rule in his name. This, Mr Gore very rightly calls the mediatorial system, and also very rightly proclaims it directly contrary to the doctrine of Holy Scripture and of the earlier Fathers. But this is *not* the doctrine of St Leo, it is not the doctrine of those saints he places in the "papal school," and it is not the doctrine of the Catholic Church as defined by the sacred Œcumenical Council of the Vatican.

In order to redress the false view of Mr Gore, I cannot do better than quote the Catholic doctrine as stated in such luminous and noble language by Mr Allies. It would be vain for me to attempt any imitation of a style, which rings in the ears, like an echo from Ephesus or Chalcedon.

"Let us now sum up the powers conveyed to the Apostles—first, those given to the Apostles in common; then those peculiar to St Peter. Of those given to the Apostles in common, the following are ordinary, that is to say, requisite for the perpetual government of the Church." Here follow seven various powers which involve the episcopate. "The following are extraordinary, making up in fact the apostolate as distinguished from the episcopate: 1. Immediate institution by Christ – 'As My Father sent Me,' etc. 2. Universal mission—'Go ye into all the world.'

"Now all these powers St Peter shared in common with the other Apostles, and in all these they were his equal, but the following are peculiar to himself:—

"1. He is made the Rock or foundation of the Church singly—'Thou art cepha, and on this cepha I will build My Church.'

"2. To this Church, thus founded on him, perpetual continuance and victory are guaranteed — 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against it.'

"3. The keys of the kingdom of heaven, that is, the symbol of supreme power, the mastership over the Lord's House, the guardianship of the Lord's city, are committed to him alone — 'To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven.'

"4. The power of binding and loosing sins, of inflicting and removing censures, of enacting spiritual laws, given to him elsewhere *with* the Apostles, is here given to him singly.

"5. The power of conforming his brethren.

"6. The supreme pastorship of all Christ's flock is bestowed on him—'Feed My lambs'; 'Rule as a shepherd over My sheep'; 'Feed My sheep.'

"Thus, comparing together what was given to the Apostles in common and what was given to Peter singly, we find that—

"1. He received many things *alone;* they, nothing *without him.*

"2. His powers can be exercised only by *one;* theirs, by *many.*

"3. His powers include theirs; not theirs his.

"Moreover, as to the continuance and descent of these powers, the same principle which leads all High Churchmen to believe that the ordinary powers bestowed on the Apostles in common for the good of the Church are continued on to those who govern the Church for ever, leads also to the belief that the power bestowed on Peter, likewise for the good of the Church, continues on in like manner. Indeed, part of the promise is express on this head, assigning perpetual continuance to the Church founded on Peter.

"Further, we learn in what respects the Apostles were

equal to Peter, and in what he was superior to them.

"They were equal in the powers of the episcopate. They were equal also in those of the apostolate, that is, *immediate institution by Christ* and *universal* mission.

"They were inferior to him in one point only, which made up his Primacy, namely, that they must exercise all these powers in union and perfect communion with him as their head. He was their head, and so his primacy is an *essential* part; nay, the crown and completion of the Divine government of the Church, for the body without the head is no body. Thus they were all doctors of the *whole world*, as St Cyril and St Chrysostom tell us, but under One, the leader of the band. They could and did exercise jurisdiction, erect bishoprics and plant churches in all parts of the world, but it was in union with Peter, and in subordination to their head. . . ."

This view alone supplies a key to all antiquity. Thus alone does the history of the Church become intelligible. A power of Divine institution, deposited from the beginning in it, is seen to grow with its growth, to be the root on which it is planted, and the spring of its organization; to enfold in itself and develop from itself all other powers, imparting force to each and harmony to all. I have here and there changed or added a word, in order to bring out more clearly the special misconception of Mr Gore. Mr Allies then gives two extracts from great Catholic writers, the first of the fifth century, and the second of the seventeenth, to show how the principles he lays down were held in all ages by the Catholic Church. The first extract of five pages is from this very sermon of St Leo, on which Mr Gore attempts to found, by quoting a disconnected sentence, what he calls the mediatorial system, which would make of St Peter the only directly-appointed Apostle, and the source from

which the others obtained their jurisdiction and mission, whereas St Leo, with the whole Catholic Church, maintains that they received them both direct from Christ. St Leo invented no new system. He, the zealous upholder of antiquity; he, the profound doctor of the Incarnation mystery; he, the support of orthodoxy in the whole world, did no more than re-echo the voices of the Fathers who preceded him, of Cyprian and of Augustine, of Jerome and of Optatus. In order to make of St Leo the Great an innovator, it is necessary to do as Mr Gore does—foist upon him a theory he would have been the first to repudiate.

The second extract Mr Allies quotes, is of one who, great and eloquent though he was, was not one to exaggerate the rights of the Holy See, but rather to minimise them—it is the learned Bossuet, the champion of Gallicanism. In his admirable sermon on Unity, preached before those very prelates who were about to formulate the famous four articles, Bossuet shows forth in noble clearness, what was the never-disputed Catholic faith on the Supremacy. In nothing is he behind St Leo in all that he claims for the papacy. He knows nothing of an innovating "papal school." He, the greatest patristic scholar of his time, proclaims the doctrine of St Leo to be that of the whole Catholic Church from the beginning.

Mr Gore is fond of attributing the invention of new theories to the Fathers. It is a special weakness of the High Church leaders, not one of them but has associated his name with some new theory of ecclesiastical government, or historical discovery. Dr Littledale, Dr Neale, Dr Pusey, are all of them inventors of theories, more or less fanciful. Those who have made antiquity their dearest and best loved study, will bear me out when I say, that nothing was so abhorrent to the great and

holy minds of the Fathers. Their whole care, their only task, was to pass on to their successors, untainted and unchanged, the sacred deposit of tradition, they had received from their ancestors, enriched and embellished, as St Vincent Lerins says, by the definitions and "explications" (if I may invent a word) of the ever living Church, but absolutely and essentially the same. That peculiar talent, which would now be called originality, was looked upon with distrust and aversion by these primitive Christians, and its presence, even in so grand a character as Origen, obtained for him far more suspicion than praise from saintly and ancient writers.* We have just seen how Mr Gore insists upon foisting the invention of a new theory of the papacy upon St Leo, and how this theory turns out to be nothing new, but the universally received doctrine of all Catholics, of the Gallican Bossuet no less than of the Vatican Council. But Mr Gore credits St Cyprian, St Augustine, and the African Church in general with *another* theory, which it appears is quite peculiar to these regions.

St Cyprian being one of the plainest defenders of the primacy, both of St Peter and of his successors in St Peter's See, and having nevertheless in one instance (in which he was absolutely in the wrong) resisted the Pope of his day with some loss of temper, offers evidence which has at once to be explained away, and to be made use of. Consequently he is accredited with having invented a theory of his own concerning St Peter and his See, a theory in which the one and the other are to be

* This characteristic dread of novelty, is as vivid as ever among saintly men in Catholic countries. I well recollect that a certain speech, which had delighted a recent convert, was at once disapproved of by a very simple, unlearned Belgian Catholic tradesman, who knew nothing but his Catechism and the traditions of centuries of Catholicism. His sad prediction became but too true. The brilliant orator is now an apostate.

honoured, but merely as "symbols of unity;" a theory in which every bishop is made bishop of the whole Catholic Church, whose jurisdiction over this world-wide See is merely *hic et nunc*, restricted by purely human ecclesiastical arrangements. It is needless to say to any real student of St Cyprian, how utterly mistaken is this interpretation of his words: "Episcopatus unus est, cujus in solidum pars tenetur." These very words are from that famous treatise "De Unitate Ecclesiæ," in which the Primacy of St Peter and of St Peter's See is the most clearly set forth. In this sense they are quoted by Allies and by all Catholic theologians. Let us consider the context. St Cyprian is illustrating what he calls "the sacrament of unity," that absolute, real, social unity, which consists in visible communion of all its members under one Head. After quoting St Paul's words, "There is one body and one spirit," he goes on to say: "And this unity we are bound firmly to maintain and vindicate, especially we that are bishops, who have the chief place in the Church, that we may prove the episcopate itself likewise to be one and indivisible. . . . The episcopate is one, of which a part is held by each, without division of the whole."

In other words, the unity of the Church is a unity of essence, and of origin in its government, the one indivisible episcopate. St Cyprian asks why men are deceived? He answers because they do not return to the origin of truth nor *seek the Head*. What is this origin? Who is this Head? He goes on: "The Lord said to Peter, thou art Peter," &c. The person of Peter he points out as the source of many streams, the root of a tree spreading into many branches, yet in all these "unity is preserved in the origin." It is evident that so long as the *unity* abides, the *origin* must abide too. Truly St Peter and the Apostolic See are symbols of unity, but they are like

sacramental symbols, they assure what they show forth. Is there anything new or peculiar in the idea of one indivisible episcopate, promised first to one (St Peter) as a symbol of unity, anything contrary to the supremacy of that See which St Cyprian calls "the root and womb" of the Catholic Church? The very words are used by one of those doctors of what Mr Gore calls "the papal school," nay, by a Pope, by Symmachus (A.D. 500): "After the manner of the Trinity, whose power is one and indivisible, there is one episcopate in Divine prelates." Mr Gore calls St Cyprian's view an interesting view, "one we would be heartily glad to accept" (pp. 85, 86).

It is no *view*, it is the old doctrine of the Catholic Church; it is not peculiar to Africa, or to Asia; and the day Mr Gore adopts it, he will be a Catholic, at least in belief.

Let us then sum up in a few words the result of this chapter.

1. Mr Gore admits with us that our blessed Lord promised to build His Church upon St Peter—that Peter himself is the Rock.

2. That our Lord's words gave to St Peter a certain headship among the Apostles, that he was the Coryphæus, the leader of the apostolic band.

3. That the Fathers generally accord a certain primacy to the bishops in St Peter's See, not merely because of the secular importance of Rome, but because they connect the position of its bishop with the words spoken to St Peter, if only as a symbol of unity. (These Mr Gore admits.)

4. We have shown that the headship of St Peter was not a merely temporary headship "until St Paul rose into prominence," but lasted until his glorious martyrdom.

5. That St Leo and the saintly writers of Mr Gore's papal school, did not form a school at all; invented nothing; that the exaggerated claims he puts to their charge, were never made by any of them, but that their doctrine is the doctrine of Catholics in all ages.

6. That the peculiar theory foisted upon St Cyprian and the African Church, is an invention of Anglican Divines. St Cyprian and St Augustine teach exactly the same doctrine as the Pope Symmachus as to the indivisible unity of the Church and of the episcopate.

CHAPTER VI.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PAPACY.

THE Essay which introduces this work has left me very little to do, and very little to prove concerning the Divine origin of the Papacy.

I shall not attempt to go again over the ground so lucidly mapped out by Mr Rivington; my more humble task in this chapter will be to examine first principles; to put before the reader two explanations of that wonderful world-wide spiritual supremacy, which at this very moment fills all thinking men with astonishment, and whose providential fashioning Mr Gore admits, no less than we do (p. 102). It will be for the reader to choose, it will be for him to decide, which of these explanations corresponds with the verdict of Reason; which best meets the axiom, that an effect must have a cause capable of producing it.

That the papacy, as it appeared in the middle ages, as it appears to-day, presents phenomena very different from those which distinguished it in the three centuries immediately following the Nicene Council, and that these differed again, from those presented during the three centuries of persecution, who can doubt it? But, after all, granting for a moment that it was the will of our Divine Lord to leave a visible head as a centre of unity to the Church He had founded *super hanc petram*, that His object was not merely to reward the zeal of Simon Bar-jona, but to found a Centre of stability, which

was to last *usque ad consummationem seculi*, I say, granting this, is not the gradual development of this motive power, growing with the growth of the Church, expanding more and more as that mighty Tree of life spreads its branches over the whole earth, precisely what we might have expected? In this case, is it not in accordance with God's ways, to make use of circumstances, of the heavings and turmoils of kings and of nations, of the follies of the wicked, no less than of the labours of the just—in a word, to turn the workings of human freewill to the accomplishment of His Divine *schema?* In a word, is it not the philosophy of history, to see in that Drama of the ages, the accomplishment of what Bossuet describes, as he alone knows how, by the words: "L'Homme s'agite, et Dieu le mène"? This would prove no more, than that the Catholic explanation is logical, reasonable, and worthy of "that God who governs the earth." Granted, I ask no more for the moment. *Some* explanation of this mighty fact is necessary, for all those who believe in God and, I may add, who believe in Reason.

Is the explanation given by Mr Gore adequate? Could the acknowledged results flow from the causes he gives? Mr Gore admits of a certain divinely-appointed primacy given to St Peter in the apostolic band, but he considers it as a purely personal grant, dying with him. He absolutely repudiates any continuance of the divinely-appointed primacy in the successors of St Peter—the Roman Pontiffs. He holds that, after the death of St Peter until to-day, there has existed no *divinely*-appointed superiority of any kind among bishops. That in this sense all are equal, and that *any* pre-eminence which may have existed, is purely of human ecclesiastical institution. *Such* a primacy, he gladly accords to the Roman See, but, being purely of human institution, it is sus-

ceptible of change like all other human things, and no Divine law would prevent the Church from transferring the primacy, *e.g.*, from Rome to London, and from London to New York, as they respectively rose and fell in political importance. He admits, of course, the guiding hand of Providence in these matters, but in no other sense than it is present in *all* human history. It is an ephemeral phenomenon "Any vocation which is rooted in the circumstances of a particular epoch may vanish with the circumstances which conditioned it" (p. 105). If all this be true, there certainly seems no valid reason for preserving the primacy of the Christain world to the second rate capital of a second-rate power.

But now let us examine if these premisses are, I will not say true but, possible. If the early Church, if the Christians of the first six centuries, or of any one of those centuries, had believed that the Roman Pontiff succeeded by Divine right to *none* of the privileges of St Peter; that he was not among bishops what St Peter was among the Twelve; that there was in the Church no divinely-appointed chief, but merely a humanly-elected president, chosen because of the imperial majesty of Rome; is it possible to explain the action of all Christendom East and West, of Catholic saints no less than of heretics, of emperors and pro-consuls, of pagans and of Christians? During the first three centuries of persecution the name of Rome had nothing to charm the ears of Christians—it was the Babylon of iniquity, drunk with the blood of the saints, the centre of paganism, where idolatry showed itself in all its Satanic magnificence, and where all the vices and crimes had rendezvous. And after Constantine, how rapidly did the political importance of Rome decrease! The seat of empire was snatched from her, never to be replaced. Her mighty rival on the shores of the Bosphorus would not have even deigned to consider

her a rival in political eminence. Can we imagine for a moment that, if the Roman emperors had known, if they had even suspected, that the mighty spiritual influence wielded by the Bishop of Rome was due merely to an ecclesiastical Canon, made when Rome was "the chief city" they would have scrupled to enforce a change of things, so pressingly demanded by changed circumstances? Would Arian emperors, Monophysite orthodox and semi-orthodox emperors, have borne patiently the resistance of the Popes, have striven by fair means and foul, by bribes, by prayers, by promises, and by violence, to gain the Roman Pontiffs to their side, if, by the simple process of "putting Rome in her place" as second or third See, and by exalting Constantinople to the primacy, they could have gained all they wanted? When some two hundred out of the six hundred Fathers, who, as Dean Milman says, "lingered behind the rest of the Council of Chalcedon," passed their abortive 28th canon, which gave Constantinople the second place, would the Patriarch, the Emperor, and Empress have written and implored the Pope to approve of it, and have tamely submitted to St Leo's very energetic refusal; the first writing to excuse himself, and acknowledging "the whole force and confirmation of the Acts was reserved for the authority of your Holiness," the latter, even in the midst of his vexation at having to give up a cherished project, surrendering it, as Dr Döllinger says (Hist. of Ch., vol. ii. p. 252), and extolling the constancy of the Pontiff, so that until the time of Photius the 28th canon was not counted, even in the Greek collections?

Again, how is it possible to account for the conduct of the bishops, particularly in the East? If there was one vice the Early Church detested more than another, it was pride. Anything like arrogance, or the claim to more than was their due, especially in bishops, met with prompt

rebuke from the saints of those days. Even those who were infected with this vice, had to dissemble, and at least to *feign* humility. But how shall we characterise the conduct of the Popes if they had not the universally recognised care of the whole Church by their divinely-appointed primacy? Save the words spoken by Jesus to Simon Bar-jona, what title had they to their primacy? What Council had ever given it them? The 28th canon abovementioned said "the Fathers gave"* — what Fathers, and when? Can any one point to a human grant of the primacy to Rome? And yet, without any certain ecclesiastical title, the Popes, however holy, may, in proportion to their holiness, act with authority everywhere. However great their humility in private life, in their official capacity they do not hesitate to act with the greatest vigour, whenever they consider the good of the Church requires it. Their action seems sometimes hasty and severe even to certain saints, who even resist, as the best of men will, to an authority whose right they acknowledge, but of whose manner of acting they disapprove; but it never enters the mind of those who are so hard pressed by the successor of Peter to cry out with one voice, "What right have you to act as you do? You are but one of us, you owe your pre-eminence merely to the tacit consent of the episcopate, you have not even any certain title to show for it, you have no divinely-instituted primacy; any privileges the Lord gave to Peter died with him,† none of them have descended upon you; how dare you take upon yourself the power to act as supreme

* Remark that even the 28th canon does not speak of the Fathers as giving the supremacy to the successor of St Peter, but to the city of old—Rome, because it was the chief city. If by the Fathers is meant the Apostles, we may admit that Rome was chosen as the seat of the Coryphæus because of its world-wide importance and renown.

† The argument of Tertullian when in heresy.

Pontiff in all parts of the Church; never to refer your ephemeral authority to its human origin, but always to claim it as divinely-given to St Peter and to his successors for all time."

Can we doubt that such would have been the language of the indignant and saintly prelates of antiquity, not only when their own ideas were attacked, but even when the Pope was acting in concert with them? They were not the men to yield tamely before a tyrant, wore he a mitre or a crown.

We nip, then, Mr Gore's development in the bud; we need follow it no further, it could never have *begun*. Fallen human nature does not yield to the will of another without due cause, and regenerate Catholic human nature, although ever ready to yield personally to all men, refuses to yield one particle of the things of God, save to those who can show God's warrant for their claim.

What, then, is the Catholic explanation of these phenomena? It is that the papacy, as it now exists, is a *divinely-directed* development, of an authority which contained, latent in its germ from the very first, every attribute which, as the occasion demanded, it brought into action. The power given to Peter and to his successors unto the end of time, was, in the language of Chalcedon, "the charge of the Vine." It was not a power, limited to such and such details. The Divine charge did not descend into details. Peter, "ever living in his See," might restrain his immediate action, might leave a fuller and more independent action to the local episcopate when circumstances allowed him, or he might make his apostolic authority to be felt in the remotest corner of Asia or in the far distant islands of the West, when heresy had to be humbled or the orthodox supported. His supreme charge was to see "that the Christian Republic suffered no injury." When pressing

danger to the Church demanded it, in the words of St Gregory, "he knew not what See was not subject to the See of Rome." This is a power which no mere human sanction would ever, or could ever, give to a single bishop, and yet this supreme power is contained in the Divine commission of the Lord Christ to Peter, and in the earliest testimonies of the Fathers, and from it flows, by necessary and logical consequence, not only his plenary supremacy in matters of discipline, but also his infallible magisterium in matters of doctrine. Let us take one of the earliest of these patristic testimonies — that all-famous declaration of St Irenæus, the disciple of Polycarp, himself the well-beloved disciple of St John.

This passage is the *crux* of every Protestant. Mr Gore describes it as "a passage which has been the subject of much dispute"—as a difficult passage, in fact. But where is the difficulty? It offers no difficulty to any Catholic. Before and since the Reformation every Catholic has interpreted it in one and the same sense. The only difficulty arises with those Protestants who strive to perform the impossible task, of accepting the authority of St Irenæus, and refusing to acknowledge the divinely-appointed magisterium of the Pope.

For these the matter does indeed involve insurmountable difficulties, but their vain attempts in this, as in so many cases, establish the truth of the invariable interpretation of Catholics. For, although they all reject this interpretation, each take different grounds for their rejection, and thus they mutually demolish the meanings of their rivals, leaving in possession the sole Catholic sense of the words. Let me explain what I mean, by quoting the text. We have only the Latin translation, but, from fragments of the original Greek which have from time to time been discovered, we know that the Latin is servilely faithful to that original Greek. It is

unnecessary to explain the aim and scope of the treatise "Adv. Hæres" of St Irenæus—it is too well known by all, and Mr Gore's observations on these points will save me the trouble. When the saint comes to speak of the Roman Church, he says: "Ad hanc enim ecclesiam, propter potentiorem principalitatem, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam, hoc est, eos qui sunt undique fideles, in qua semper, ab his qui sunt undique, conservata est ea quæ est ab Apostolis traditio."

The Catholic translation of the sense is as follows. I give it in the words of that ripe scholar, Addis, whose recent loss of faith in nowise impairs his incontestable learning. "For with this Church, because of its more powerful principality, every Church must agree, that is, the faithful everywhere, in communion with which Church, the tradition of the Apostles has ever been preserved by those on every side."

Remark, as Addis observes, this is no peculiar translation given by Ultramontanes, in view of the infallibility of the Pope; it is the universally received sense, accepted by all Catholic authors, of the Gallicans, Natalis Alexander, Bossuet, Massuet, and Cellier, no less than of Ballerini and Orsi—nay more, Döllinger and Friedrich before their apostasy, committed themselves in the strongest terms to the interpretation we have given.* I will now give the words about which Protestants cannot agree, and I will show that they mutually refute one another, and thus, taken together, establish the traditional meaning of St Irenæus. The first words in dispute are "*propter potentiorem principalitatem*," which I have rendered "because of its more powerful principality." Salmasius understands by these words that the Roman Church is "the first and most pure of all."

* Döllinger, "Church History" (Eng. trans.), vol i. p. 256; Friedrich, "Kirchengeschichte Deutschland," vol. i. p. 409.

Grabe rejects this, and admits the Catholic translation, but refers the principality, to the civil status of pagan Rome among cities. Neander follows him, but admits that it is doubtful. Gieseler by a gratuitous supposition that the Latin text is not correct, invents what he thinks the original Greek *ought to be*, and supposes that the agreement with the Church of Rome springs from this; that she has *in fact* preserved, in common with the faithful in all parts, the apostolic tradition.

Variations from these translations have been invented by Thiersch and Harvey. Ziegler makes the nearest approach to an entire surrender, and admits that Irenæus has in view the superiority of the Roman Church as a church. I need hardly allude to the childish interpretation of Dr Littledale that the saint has in view the commercial importance of Rome "because it was such a mart" ("Plain Reasons," p. 175).

The next crux of Protestants are the words, "ad hanc ecclesiam, necesse est omnem convenire ecclesiam,"—with this church it is necessary that every church should agree. Grabe, Neander, and Dr Langen, quoted by Mr Gore, explain the meaning as asserting the necessity of Christians from all parts, visiting Rome because of its political importance. Salmasius, Gieseler, and Thiersch, on the contrary, admit the Catholic sense of "agree with." The former distinctly says, "Convenire et concordare in rebus fidei ac doctrinæ, cum Romanâ Ecclesiâ" (quoted by Allnatt, "Cath. Pet.," p. 92). Dr Littledale, in favour of the contrary opinion, objects that the preposition "ad" always indicates motion to a place. Who denies it? The question is not, what is the literal translation of the words, but what is their sense? Do they mean motion of *bodies* to a *town*, or the converging of *minds* to the doctrines of a Church? The absurdity of supposing that the saint maintained the necessity of

all Christians going in the body to the city of Rome, is manifest; besides, it is not to this city, but to this Church that they must come.

The last words in dispute are "in quâ (Ecclesiâ),"—in communion with which Church. Döllinger, Möhler, and Hergenröther render "in"—"in her bosom," "in her communion," "through her," "by virtue of her." Those Protestants who deny the sense of "agreeing with," see in these words only the effect of the reunion of Christians from all parts, fortuitously meeting at Rome. It is enough to say that St Irenæus never hints, that the confluence of Christians to the capital, is the reason why the Roman Church is to be taken as the authority, on the contrary he states as the reason "the principal principality of that Church," drawn from her apostolic foundation; and the Latin text of St Irenæus frequently uses "in" in this sense. Schneemann quotes a perfect parallel from St Optatus "in quâ una cathedrâ (St Petri) unitas ab omnibus servaretur" ("De Schism. Don.," ii. 2).

May we not say then with Addis, that our interpretation, common to Catholics of every school and of every age, is the only one permitted by the construction of the words, or the context in which they occur? It can afford to stand on its own merits, fortified as it is by the sight of the desperate expedients, to which Protestant theologians have been driven, in their efforts to explain away the meaning of St Irenæus. Is it not therefore rather sharp practice of Mr Gore, in presence of this violent and unseemly struggle among his allies, to say calmly, as of a clear and settled matter, "This passage has been the subject of much dispute. *I* believe that Dr Langen has finally *fixed* its meaning." *Langen locutus est, causa finita est!*

It is not necessary to point out that from the Catholic sense of St Irenæus' words, flow the supreme authority in

discipline, and the Infallible Magisterium in doctrine, of the Holy See. For if it is necessary to agree with this See, and to be in communion with it, it can only be, because its final commands are the laws of a God-given superior, and its *ex cathedra* decrees, the voice of the Holy Ghost. Deny this, and it cannot, in every case, be either necessary or right, to yield to its final decisions. After all, unless man must submit to probability, and abandon all hope of certitude on this earth, which is the triumph of scepticism, there must be infallibility somewhere. What more reasonable, then, than to admit that the visible God-appointed head of the Church, is also the organ and instrument of that Holy Spirit, sent by the Saviour, not to reveal new dogmas, but to guide the Church into *all truth*, and to preserve her from *all error?*

Nothing is more reasonable than the careful definition of the Vatican Decree, nothing more painful, than the superficial examination it has met with, and the strange fact that, after eighteen years, every Protestant writer who has attacked it, even gifted and moderate men like Mr Gore, so entirely misapprehends its true meaning. They see *ex cathedra* decisions, there where none are intended, they mix up the supreme government of the Church, to which *obedience* is due, with dogmatic definitions, which demand the submission of the intellect. A study of the constitution "Pastor Eternus" would convince them, that an *ex cathedra* decree must be one which defines, as an article of faith contained in the *Depositum Fidei* once delivered to the apostles, a proposition concerning faith or morals, and that this decree must be addressed by the Sovereign Pontiff to the whole Church in his capacity as the Pastor and teacher of all Christians. If *one* of these conditions be wanting, the decree, however binding as the commands of a lawful superior, is not an *ex cathedra* decision, and does not

bind *as an article of faith.* These considerations will at once dismiss such matters as the pretended falls of Liberius and Honorius, or the condemnation of Galileo. Besides which, let the reader consider this: these three cases, and others like them, were well known to the Fathers of the Vatican Council; they were frequently urged as objections by all who opposed the Definition. Is it not therefore evident that the Fathers, who at least were men of talent and common-sense, would have so framed their definition as to exclude cases in which they admitted erroneous decisions to have been made, or at least to have been possible? It is clear that the Vatican Decree excludes from the title of infallible decrees, signatures forced from a Pope in exile like Liberius, or contained in letters like those of Honorius.

The reader is in the presence of two explanations of the wonderful development of Papal power. Which is most in accordance with human nature, with reason, and above all with the Providential guidance of God over His Church?

There remains but one other explanation, for all those who believe in the supernatural. It is a very painful one for a Catholic even to pen, but it is far more logical and reasonable than the impossible theory of Mr Gore. If the Papacy is not the manifestation of Divine wisdom, it is the masterpiece of satanic and anti-christian cunning. It is clearly supernatural. In the striking words of the gifted, but anonymous authoress of "Unravelled Convictions":—

"I will not hear of the Catholic Church being one of many forms of Christianity. She is too great and obtrusive, too powerful and startling in her nature, not to be everything one way or another. . . . . Together with this wide view of the service of God grows up a terribly distinct conviction, that, if the Catholic Church is not very good she must be very bad. . . . I am persuaded

that if she is not what she claims to be, I must of necessity join the ranks of her bitterest enemies, and believe the worst that they say of her. Surely if one had any enthusiasm for the cause of Christ, one's breath would fail before one could sufficiently denounce this blaspheming, usurping power, which so nearly raises its pretensions to divinity, as to claim to be at once the mouthpiece and the special abode of God, the Holy Ghost, and to have by His care the deposit of Apostolic Faith intact in its guardianship; and which, with a presumption which, if unfounded, nearly equals that which caused the fall of the angels, teaches the most hideous untruths, calling on the world to bow down to them as infallibly divine. I cannot call this power merely innocent and harmless; for it seems to me that if not what she claims to be, an engine placed on this earth by a merciful God, to stay and guide us weak men, she is so damnably wicked, that, by all we know of God's judgment and justice, every woe pronounced on the evil could not but be turned on her. . . . There are many who, after calmly looking at the history of the Church, take this last view of the case, *i.e.*, that she is the work and active instrument of the enemy himself.[1] I see what they mean, for, as I said, the Church's attributes come so before me that I must think as they do, or think her God's work; I see but two alternatives.[2]

This view of Rome and Rome's religion, as the Satanic manifestation of Anti-Christ, is the only logical conclusion of the Reformation. As Cardinal Newman points out, it is the established and traditional view of Anglican Divinity. It may safely be said that, if the doctrine most

[1] Such it appears is the opinion of Mr Benson, the founder of the "Cowley Fathers."

[2] See this admirable but too little known book "Unravelled Convictions." London: Burns & Oates.

common to all Anglican divines were to be sought, difficult as it would be to find any one *absolutely* held by all (certainly neither the Trinity, nor the Incarnation, nor the Inspiration of Scripture, nor the Eternity of Hell), perhaps the *nearest approach* to consent would be found in the dictum that "the Pope is Anti-Christ." Here, High Churchmen may be found giving the hand to Low and Broad. Semi-rationalists like Burnet, and narrow sacerdotalists like Wordsworth, may unite, if not in the "bond of peace," at least in the bond of a common hate. And this is rational and logical. Reason *will* assert her rights in the end, and, in spite of Mr Gore's hard words for Logic, he is compelled to feel its force. The spectre of Anti-Christ casts at least its shadow, over his large and benevolent mind; although under the influence of the Via Media, "he does not call it by that name." "Perverted by something more satanic than divine," (p. 106), sounds better, but it comes very much to the same thing in the end.

I have little fear of the choice every thoughtful reader will make, after reading these alternative explanations of an undeniable fact. Neither the conflicting currents of circumstances, nor the cunning of Satan, could have brought two hundred and fifty millions of human beings, divided by race, by colour, by climate, by form of Government, and by national character, to acknowledge as God's Vicar on earth, supreme in his fatherly rule, and infallible in his doctrinal Magisterium, an aged Priest, whom they have never seen, and probably never will see, and devoid of the least power to coerce them, or of the means to reward their allegiance, otherwise than spiritually. No, verily the finger of God is here. No human society can exist without a visible primate of some kind. Mr Gore grants this, and would yield such a primacy to the Sovereign Pontiff; but a divinely instituted society can

be satisfied by nothing less than a *divinely instituted* primate; nothing less can assure constant stability and unvarying unity. If, as St Jerome says, "One was chosen amongst the twelve, that, *by the institution of a head, all opening of schism might be avoided*," what was necessary even among the inspired Apostles to insure unity, is surely even more necessary among their successors.

CHAPTER VII.

THE NATURE OF SCHISM.

Mr Gore enters on what must have been for him a most difficult subject, hampered as he is by a theory, his school has definitely decided to adopt. This theory, as I shall show, is composed of two contradictory propositions.

The first of these is, "that the Catholic Church in communion with the Pope, is a true branch of Christ's Church." This is essential to their theory. *At all hazards*, they cannot part with "the Roman Branch."

But, on the other hand, they are convinced of the necessity of maintaining "that the members of this Church are in schism in England." Hence the necessity of great caution in defining Schism, and in explaining its nature.

I say they are convinced of the *necessity* of this second proposition, not that it logically follows their premises. As a fact it does not; as a fact also, the more advanced school of twenty-five years ago, who called themselves "Unionists," and whose organ was the very able weekly *Union*, did not hold it, and the more moderate and kindly disposed men, forming, I fear, a diminishing school in number, though foremost in culture, do not admit it now.

This gentle, amiable school, of whom no Catholic need speak but in terms of respectful courtesy and affectionate sympathy, holding to the Branch theory, did not

admit that, in the present confused state of Christendom, either of the three Branches was in formal schism anywhere. They gladly attended Catholic services, read Catholic books, and held friendly and even intimate relations with Catholic priests and pious Catholic laymen. In 1845, Dr Pusey could without censure write on the conversion of Newman :—" He seems then to me, not so much gone from us, as transplanted *into another part of the vineyard*, where the full energies of his powerful mind can be employed, which *here* they were not. . . . It is not anything in our Church which keeps Rome from acknowledging us, but *heresy* existing more or less within us. It is, perhaps, the greatest event which has happened since the communion of the Churches has been interrupted, that such an one, so formed in our Church, and the work of God's Spirit so dwelling within her, should be *transplanted* to theirs.

" The first pang came upon me years ago, when I had no other fear, but heard that he was prayed for by name in so many churches and religious houses on the Continent. . . . And now, must they not think that their prayers, which they have offered so long—at times I think night and day, or at the Holy Eucharist—have been heard ?"

Truly, what else *could* they think, what else is it *possible* to think ? How touching, yet how sad, is this fear and dread of Catholic prayer ! Often have I met this on my path in search of the lost sheep.

Now, alas ! all is changed. Anglicans found that the effect of these loving feelings, of these sweet friendships, of this reading and study of Catholic books, of this attendance at Catholic services, had but one end—the conversion of all the more saintly and humble of their sect. Another course was considered absolutely neces-

sary, or "the Romans will come, and take away our place and National Church." "Romans," as the Catholics were now called, were proclaimed "Schismatics in England." Self-made confessors, told their poor dupes, that it was a mortal sin to enter a Catholic church in England, to speak to a priest on religious matters, to read any Catholic books except those which had been "adapted" for members of the Church of England, to enter into controversy with any Catholics, or even to open letters from them, if they thought they contained controversial allusions. I could cite examples of *all* these tyrannical directions. And *yet* they went over.

Then a new style of controversy was inaugurated, from which the old Tractarians and Unionists would have turned with disgust. The *Church Times* was founded, and a man came to the front, who has done more than anyone else to degrade a school of scholars and gentlemen, to something Exeter Hall, in the palmy days of Dr Cumming, would not have disowned. In Dr Littledale, the Ritualists (the new name the world, with its wonderful common sense, gave them), found the very instrument they required. An Irish Protestant, with all the faults and none of the qualities of his race, strong in hatred, hatred against his national sect, which did not appreciate him, hatred against the gentle Unionists, whose very soul sickened at his coarseness; hatred against the Catholic Church, whose teaching of authority, obedience, asceticism, and reverence found in him so many points of repulsion,—Dr Littledale, *un homme à tout faire*, as the French say, was the very man for the situation. Let us give him the credit that is his due. He is a hard worker, and he did his work. He undoubtedly stopped conversions in a great measure. His coarse treatment of holy subjects, the innate rationalism

which runs through all he writes, blunted piety, charity, humility, and reverence, and replaced them by a mere love of exterior finery in the church, and a love still stronger for the satisfaction of each one's personal will. Obedience to bishops was discountenanced, and week by week, the most bitter satires against various members of the Episcopate, mentioned by name, appeared in the *Church Times*.

Having followed this movement step by step with great attention from the beginning, I may say that I know nothing more sad, nothing more humiliating, than the conduct of the more respectable members of the High Church clergy, in face of this pitiful invasion of ecclesiastical Billingsgate. I do not know one example, among the heap of letters I have carefully preserved from leading Anglicans, of any who approved of Dr Littledale and his ultra-Protestant "Plain Reasons." All rejected him, some with an energy not at all complimentary, but nearly all are piteously marked "Private," "Quite private and confidential, please." The man was made use of, and only disowned *sub rosa*. I could mention a London Church whose clergy sometimes write to the *Tablet*, and between themselves and a chosen few, speak most sweetly of "our dear Roman Sister Church," who have not words enough to show their disgust for "Plain Reasons," and yet who lend the book to doubting penitents, because they say: "It does its work, it knocks all ideas of Rome out of their head, and then we can eradicate the poison afterwards." Alas! they *cannot*, and the usual effects of these "conversions *rentrées*" is sooner or later to land the unhappy victims in Atheism. They have learnt to laugh and crack their jokes on the Immaculate Conception, the relics and legends of the Saints, on miracles, on heroic virtue, and they end by finding subjects of amuse-

ment in the mystery of the All Holy Trinity. These words were necessary in order to understand the difficulties which met Mr Gore at the very outset of the chapter on "The Nature of Schism." Far be it from me to rank Mr Gore among such men. He is of the older school, a disciple of Dr Pusey, although the bent of his mind is far more rationalistic than that worthy man would have approved of. He has no sympathy with Dr Littledale, or with "Plain Reasons" (I have the best of reasons for knowing it). But is he not the principal of the "Pusey House," founded for the very object of stopping conversions, of keeping young Oxford from "going over?" Much as I respect him, much as I desire to preserve all through that chivalrous courtesy which is the glory of Catholic controversy, whenever the Catholic can use the bright rapier, and is not obliged to take up the horse-whip, I dare not acquit him of blame. Men like him, and Dr Liddon, and Dr King, owe it to the cause they represent, which even Catholics respect to a certain extent, as it was once the cause of Newman, of Manning, of Ward, and of Faber, to denounce openly and crush once and for ever those who disgrace their banner; to say publicly what they say willingly when addressed by letter. However, the proposition "that Catholics are in schism in England" is held by them all, if we except the few gentle, timorous, but cultured minority we spoke of just now.

Mr Gore defines schism "the wilful withdrawal from the legitimate succession of the Catholic Church." This is very vague; what is the *legitimate* succession of the Catholic Church? That is the very question before us. Therefore the definition is no definition. It is like the Anglican definition of the True Church: "The Church in which the *pure* Word of God is preached, and the sacraments *duly* ministered."

What I suppose Mr Gore has in view is his Branch theory, and schism would be the withdrawal from that branch of which you are a member, by birth or baptism, for the Anglican branch is called "the Church of their baptism." I shall show that this definition cannot stand, but I will begin by showing that it will not bear handling, that it will fall to pieces before the logic of facts.

Whatever was the idea of schism in the early Church, at least it is evident from the writings of all the Fathers, that not only those were guilty of schism, who, born in the territory where it existed, joined with the schismatics, but that all those were equally guilty, whether in Italy or Africa or in Greece, who sided with them, proclaimed their cause just, accepted the schismatics to communion, and renounced communion with the orthodox, as no longer members of the Catholic Church; who went further, and when in the schismatical territory, utterly repudiated the orthodox, and proclaimed themselves one with the schismatics, by attending their churches and receiving their sacraments. No kind of distinction was made between all these, and none who believe in the unity of the Church, as the Fathers did, *could* make any distinction. All or none of these, were schismatics, and out of Catholic unity. Now consider the position of the members of the world-wide Church in communion with Rome, whether in England or elsewhere. The Catholics of England are in schism, says Mr Gore and his school, but what possible difference is there between them and the Catholics of France, of Italy, of Spain, or of Japan? They all acknowledge only these "schismatic Romanists," are in full communion with them, accept priests and bishops from them, and send bishops and priests to them; denounce the "orthodox Anglicans" as heretics, refuse them communion, treat their clergy as laymen,

and frequently baptise, under conditions, their *soi-disant* baptised members, and when in England they pray and receive communion only in the churches of the "schismatics." I ask Mr Gore, or anyone who has studied the record of antiquity, if, on patristic principles, the "Roman" Catholics of the world are not in exactly the same position as the Catholics of England? Logical High Churchmen see this and admit it. A certain Rev. Zouch Turton, curate of Horton-cum-Piddington, has written a book to prove it, called "High Churchmen, or Weak Points in the Catholic Revival."

The world we live in shows many inconsistencies, but I know no spectacle more grotesquely irrational, than that of the High Churchman, who gravely tells you that it is a mortal sin of schism to assist at Mass in the Catholic Church at Dover, but a most meritorious act to assist at Vespers and Benediction a few hours afterwards, in the Catholic Church of Calais. That the Frenchman who comes over to London and receives Holy Communion at the Oratory, has made a sacrilegious and schismatical communion, but that, once across the water, his schism has passed with the *mal de mer*, and he is an orthodox Catholic once more, and so will remain, if he only avoids in future any more visits to *la perfide Albion*. This intermittent state of schism is so grotesque, that I must be excused if I indulge in a laugh, at what is so irresistibly laughable. But we have not exhausted the contradictions of this absurd system. "Romans" are declared to be also in schism in all English colonies and in the United States; it is not so much British soil, as the presence of Anglo-Saxon blood, which makes Romanism schismatical. But now behold a wonderful thing. An ex-Roman colony, one that has for many years belonged to some Catholic power, such as Mauritius, parts of India, Canada, Malta, &c., may be invaded

by the Anglican Branch, directly the Supreme Governor of the Church of England has hoisted his or her flag over it, "sed non vicissim." Once an English colony, always an Anglican preserve. Whatever becomes of it, no Roman can found his Church there, without schism. Nay, more, Romans become schismatics on their own ground, directly it is shadowed by the Union Jack. They are schismatics in Canada, in India, in Mauritius, in Ireland, in Australia, for the presence of a Protestant bishop is so potent, that the first one who set foot on this vast continent, by so doing, subjugated *the whole* to the Anglican Branch. To these astonishing conclusions are they forced, for there are Anglican bishops and Anglican sees in all these places, with the same titles and the same territories as the Catholic bishops, and there can be only one legitimate bishop over the same see.

It is not my fault if I am obliged to take this semi-serious tone when writing on the Anglican theory of schism. The theory is *not* serious, *it cannot be reduced to practice*, it shows the seams directly it is unfolded. I defy Mr Gore to deny *any one* of the conclusions I have just exposed as flowing logically and inevitably from the proposition, "Roman Catholics are schismatics in England." He cannot deny that, *granting this*, the Roman Catholics throughout the world are schismatics also, and would so have been denounced, by all the Fathers without exception.

What then is the true definition of Schism? It is: "the culpable separation from the unity of the whole Catholic Church, caused either by the free act of the guilty ones, or by the legitimate sentence of ecclesiastical authority." The "self-withdrawal" from Catholic unity is not necessary. A disobedient priest refuses to obey his bishop, he refuses to submit himself to the sus-

pension pronounced against him, he has no wish to separate from the Church, on the contrary, he loudly proclaims his desire to be considered a Catholic,—a lawful sentence of excommunication is pronounced against him, and, as long as he refuses to submit, he is a schismatic. He is not in communion with his bishop, and therefore is out of communion with the Holy See, with whom his bishop is in full communion. Out of communion with that see which is the "root and womb of the Catholic Church," the See of Peter, "the principal Church whence sacerdotal unity had its origin," he is out of communion with all Catholics who, in communion with this see, preserve everywhere the unity of the Church. Schism, then, does not consist in being out of communion with this or that bishop, but with being outside "Catholic Unity," although *practically*, it is impossible to be out of communion with one faithful Catholic, without, *ipso facto*, being outside the unity of the Church, because this unity consists precisely in the "communion of *all* the faithful under one head," that unity which is an essential quality of any human society, and which is necessarily involved in the word society.

Here we have a natural, clear, and rational idea of the nature of schism, an idea which will bear any application, which was the idea held by *all* the Fathers, and preserved without break or change down to the present day.

Mr Gore's definition of schism is constructed, so as to cover the position of Roman Catholics in England, and non-Episcopal Protestant sects, but it strives, as I have shown without success, not to enclose in its meshes the Roman communion outside Anglo-Saxon possessions, or the so-called "Orthodox" churches of the East.

The breaches of communion between these bodies Mr Gore calls "schisms within the Church," proceeding from human sin, having the nature of, and a tendency

to, real schism, but not cutting off any of these branches from Catholic Unity. In the sense in which he admits of the Unity of the Church, a unity in "that inward supernatural life which she derives from sacramental channels" (p. 36), he proclaims them one, in spite of themselves. Of course his system, the Branch theory, requires this distinction between mortal schism and venial schism, but how does he strive to prove the existence of this distinction? He brings forth three examples from Catholic antiquity, from which he thinks to show, that portions of the true Church, may be out of communion with each other, notably out of communion with the Holy See, and yet none of them cease to be truly parts of the Catholic Church.

These examples are: St Victor and the Asiatic Churches in the second century, St Stephen and the African Churches in the third century, and St Meletius and the Holy See in the fourth century. The two first are non-existent, the third is not to the point, no *real* breach of communion having taken place. It is distinctly false to assert, that St Victor certainly excommunicated the Asiatic Churches on the question of the Paschal controversy. Had he done so, and had these Churches refused to submit, they would have undoubtedly incurred the guilt of schism.

This is one of those cases where I find it difficult to preserve my patience with Mr Gore. He has sometimes an *outrecuidance* of tone, which would ill befit an Oxford professor laying down the law to High Church undergraduates. In any case, he should lay it aside when he addresses the public in print. It is his right, modestly to give his opinion in this sense, backed as it is by certain authorities, Protestant and Catholic. He has no right to ignore, and not even to notice, the more general teaching of Catholic authors, that St Victor yielded to

the filial persuasion of St Irenæus, who in nowise denied his *power* to act, and that he did not go beyond a simple menace. Such, for example, is the teaching of Thomassin, Natalis Alexander, Graveson, the Bollandists, Newman, &c., &c. The same is true of the case of St Cyprian and the African churches. St Augustine, who certainly knew perfectly all the details of the matter, distinctly asserts that "though they (SS. Cyprian and Stephen) quarrelled somewhat fiercely, yet it was in a brotherly fashion, so that *no ill of schism* arose between them."

Here, as usual, all the rights of the case were with the Pope. St Cyprian, in his zeal against heretics, was *innovating*, and was thereby, though he did not recognise it himself, denying a dogma of revealed religion. St Stephen, as the divinely-instituted protector of the "*Depositum fidei*," at once reproved him. He did not, it is true, go to the extent of an *ex cathedra* definition of the doctrine, but in the plenitude of his right he proclaimed: "Nihil novandum, nisi quod traditum est." It was St Cyprian's plain duty to have observed this dictum of orthodoxy. His own principles, so luminously exposed in his admirable treatise on the unity of the Church, obliged him to it.

How dare Mr Gore, who professes to venerate antiquity, speak as he does (pp. 114, 126, and 128) of the action of St Stephen, as "intolerable arrogance," "a schismatical temper," "intolerance," "pride," "looking to the interests of his own see," &c., &c. Is this the verdict of antiquity on the action of the Pope? What is the language of St Vincent of Lerins, whom Mr Gore can quote when it serves his turn, but whom he passes over in discreet silence here. "Agrippinus," he tells us (I give the epitome of the passage), "was the first who maintained against the divine Canons that heretics were to be re-baptized. This was against the rule of the

universal Church, the sentiment of all the bishops, the custom and institution of our Fathers. This rash opinion, which caused the profanation of the first of our mysteries, divided souls. It excited a general trouble. The bishops repulsed it with all their might. The Pope Stephen, of saintly memory, the Bishop of the Apostolic See, surpassed all his other colleagues by his vigorous resistance, worthily holding that he must surpass all the others in his devotion to the faith, as much as he surpassed them all by the Authority of his position. "Dignum ut upinor, existimans sic reliquos omnes tantum fidei, vinceret, quantum loci auctoritate superabat." . . . This great man, whose *prudence* was equal to his *holiness*, well knew that piety forbade, under any pretext, to receive any other doctrine than what had been delivered. . . . And what was the end of the matter? What never fails to take place. The ancient faith was maintained, and the new rejected with contempt. Yet this novelty did not lack its defenders; it was sustained with vehemence, with eloquence, and the numbers of its sectaries rendered it formidable. It reposed on the authority of venerable names, and a mass of Bible texts falsely interpreted. A council, let us rather say a councilabula, of Africa, strove to maintain it. The triumph of error seemed assured; but the profane novelty had none the less to yield to "venerable antiquity" (*Commonitorium S. Vin. Ler.*).

I find it difficult to pardon Mr Gore his silence in this case. I can only surmise that it escaped his memory. "Venerable antiquity," in the name of its most eloquent defender, offers eternal homage to the Pope for having saved the cause of Orthodoxy, and Mr Gore accuses this same St Stephen, of arrogance and intolerance for not allowing a gross innovation, pregnant with the most fearful dangers to the integrity of the faith, to pass as a legitimate exercise of private judgment, be-

cause, forsooth, the Catholic doctrine had not yet been explicitly defined. It had not been defined, for the very good reason that, like other doctrines defined in later centuries, it had not been before denied.

St Augustine, followed by all Catholic writers since his time, acknowledges a stain in the life of this great saint, but points out how thoroughly it was effaced by his glorious martyrdom. But remark the inconsistency of Mr Gore. He who elsewhere condemns the Catholic doctrine of development or "Explication," and refuses submission to any article of faith which has not been held *explicitly*, *semper ubique et ab omnibus* (p. 43), in the case of St Cyprian, utterly forgets his system, and proclaims St Cyprian's right to his opinion, as to the invalidity of heretical baptism, on the plea that the contrary doctrine had not yet been explicitly defined by "Œcumenical authority" (p. 128).

Again Mr Gore, who (p. 58) proclaims the Bible as "the sole source of revelation," admits the power of the Church to define as an article of faith (to deny which would now be heresy), the doctrine of the validity of heretical baptism, which certainly is not contained in Holy Scripture, but which is *nevertheless* a doctrine of Divine Revelation from the beginning.

The third case quoted by Mr Gore, is but an example of the certain instinct, and God-directed tact of the Holy See in moments of the greatest danger. At the end of the fourth century, religious matters were in a state of the utmost confusion; the semi-Arians, with the true spirit of heresy, were ready to make any concession, if they could but modify the strict letter of the Nicene definition. At such a moment, upon the death of the Bishop Eustathius, these semi-Arians, backed by the less courageous Catholics, elected St Meletius to the see of Antioch, the former, believing he could be made a tool

of, whilst the most militant of the orthodox, answered by the election of the uncompromising St Paulinus. The question was, what would be the action of the Holy See? The circumstances of the hour, the troubled state of the empire, the heretical proclivities of the court, rendered it impossible to cite the rivals to appear before the Pope that he might examine the cause. And yet immediate action of some kind was essential. Under existing circumstances, to have acknowledged St Meletius would have been disastrous. Alexandria, the champion of orthodoxy in the East, the faithful ally of Rome, had declared for St Paulinus. To reject the protégé of the most fervent among the orthodox, would have been considered at that moment a triumph for semi-Arianism, and, strong with this approval of the First See, they would have soon got rid of St Meletius, when they discovered his real opinions, and replaced him by a more facile tool of their own. The Pope, forced to make a choice, recognised the election of St Paulinus, and thus saved the cause of Orthodoxy. There was no question of cutting St Meletius off from the unity or communion of the Church. Rome still remained in full communion with those orthodox Eastern bishops who recognised him as Bishop of Antioch. "Moreover," as Father Ryder so justly points out, "as time went on he was explicitly acknowledged as an orthodox bishop by various Western Churches and by Alexandria, and finally entered into terms of communion with his rival, St Paulinus. Once more I have to complain of an unpardonable slip on the part of Mr Gore. Anxious to show that separation from Rome was rather considered an advantage than otherwise, he tells us that, "remaining unrecognised by Rome, St Meletius presided at the second Council accepted as Œcumenical in the Church" (p. 123). Now, as Father Ryder points out to a very different man, Dr

Littledale,* at least as early as 379, that is, two years before the council in question, St Meletius was in full and immediate communion with Rome. Remark, that he was never for a moment out of mediate communion with the Pope, through those Eastern bishops who acknowledge him, and with whom the Pope never broke.

Now, I appeal not merely to Mr Gore, but to all the pious, truth-loving Anglicans who may read these words: Is it safe to risk your Eternity, to risk being in the one true Church, on the supposed parallel between the position of St Meletius and the Pope on the one side, and the position of Anglicanism and the Holy See on the other?

Is there the slightest resemblance between this unique example in antiquity, and the entire rupture and repudiation on one side and the other, which has existed between the Holy See and the Established Church for more than three centuries? What can you think of the justice of a cause, which is compelled to descend to such shifts as these?

* The *Spectator*, in its review of Mr Rivington's book, "Authority," considers that in Dr Littledale the former has met his match—a trained theologian. What is a theologian? A theologian, in the Catholic sense of the word, does not mean a man who has read many theological books, and thus teaches himself, but one who, having been himself a pupil under masters, uses that scholastic training, as an instrument, to shape his own natural talents. Dr Littledale's lack of training renders him incapable of understanding the simplest technicalities of our schools, and exposes him to the ridicule of the merest tiro among Catholic seminarists. Dr Littledale's masters are Encyclopædias; English and foreign Reviews, and Catholic text-books, he does not understand. He has never known the salutary discipline of sitting on a hard bench, very much *under* a theological professor, to be taught, and not to teach.

CHAPTER VIII.

ANGLICAN ORDINATIONS.

I CONFESS to a feeling of weariness in approaching this dreary and useless question of Anglican Orders; dreary because it has been worn thread-bare, useless because it is not a matter of the slightest importance, Anglicanism being in precisely the same position, with regard to Catholic unity, with or without valid orders. Until the epoch of the Reformation, nearly all the heretics who had separated from the Church, had valid orders, and the Church never for a moment thought of questioning them, nor did she consider them in any way bettered by their possession.

Had not Mr Gore devoted the longest chapter of his book to this, to Anglicans a burning subject, I should not have even mentioned it, so utterly devoid of interest does it appear to Catholics.

The novelty of the recent claims of High Churchmen, and their utter lack of Catholic instinct, is shown in a very marked way, both by the "primary" importance they attach to the subject, and their uneasy, anxious tone in discussing the question. An Anglican, who can discuss quietly and calmly the doctrine of the sacraments, for example, becomes irritable, quarrelsome, and even hot tempered, directly he gets upon Anglican Orders. The idea that the Anglican doctrine on the sacrament of Holy Orders is identical with that of Rome, is so novel,

so contrary to all Anglican tradition, that the unhappy man is in *terra incognita*, he is uncomfortable, always afraid to say something which will expose his unfamiliarity with the subject.

The aim of this chapter, then, shall merely be to clear up misunderstandings, and not to worry the Anglican reader with matters which belong only to the theological schools.

Now, to begin with, let it be clearly understood that we really have no dispute with three-fourths of the members of the Established Church. We are quite ready to grant them that they have a succession, such as would have satisfied even High Churchmen of the past. They doubtless possess a body of chief pastors, set apart for their office by the laying on of hands,[1] and they can trace this mechanical process through the pre-reformation Prelates down to the Apostles. I ask, is not this the idea of the Apostolical succession which was taught by old-fashioned High Churchmen?

All we deny is, what every Anglican would have denied sixty years ago, viz., that clergymen of the Established Church are priests who, in the "Sacrifices of Masses," offer up Christ for the remission of pain or guilt. This is all the Catholic claim; I ask, is it exorbitant?

Now let me ask the candid reader, what possible advantage the Catholic Church could find in denying Anglican Orders. Anglicans, with great injustice, accuse the Church of doing so, out of her fear and dread of the Church of England, and in order to overthrow her prestige. But what right have they to say so? Can they show that this is the habit of the Church of Rome? Has she ever before or since denied the Orders of

[1] Three at least of the bishops who laid hands on Parker, had had the *hands* of true bishops laid on them, one had received the old Catholic rite.

bodies who separated themselves from her, and who believed in Holy Orders? She recognises the orders of the Greeks, the Copts, the Armenians, the Nestorians, the Jansenists, the old Catholics. Does not this prove that she has no animus in the matter, that the presence of valid Orders in separated bodies is no new thing to her, and that she does not see in that fact, painful for many reasons, any prestige whatsoever?

The second misconception I desire to dispel is, that according to Catholics, Barlow, the consecrator of Parker, was certainly never himself consecrated. No *Catholic theologian* maintains anything of the kind. The Catholic objections to Anglican Orders are of two kinds: historical and theological. The first give rise to a *legitimate doubt*, the second leave no room for doubt. However, the *practical* effect of both is the same, and this is why Catholic authors consider the subject from these two standpoints. The *effect* is the same, because doubtful Orders can no more be lawfully exercised than those which are certainly invalid. Those who have received them must be re-ordained under condition, before they can act as priests, without sacrilege.

Catholics maintain that there is a legitimate *doubt* as to Barlow's consecration, and that this is enough to render Parker's consecration *doubtful*. Without entering into this intricate subject, for which I must refer the reader to the books mentioned below, I will give seven reasons which will at least convince him that the matter is open to some doubt. And first let me at once denounce that misleading statement so frequently repeated in the columns of the "Church Times," that "the only reason Romans give for doubting Barlow's consecration is that one document, the register of his consecration, is missing." No Catholic advances anything so absurd, as of course this would cast doubt upon

the consecration of all the Bishops of ancient times. The true reasons are as follows :

1. Although it is now possible to trace Barlow, almost day by day from his nomination to St David's in April 1536, up to his taking his seat as Bishop in the House of Lords in June 30th of the same year, it is impossible to *fix* a date for his consecration, and each several Anglican writer on the subject has fixed a later and later date, which, one after the other, had to be given up.

2. Because we can now fix a date, June 12th, *before* which he was certainly not consecrated, and another, June the 30th, *after* which he was not consecrated, and no kind of evidence can be found for proving that he was consecrated between these dates.

3. Because, *under these circumstances*, it is strange that the Lambeth Register, which records all the preliminary documents concerning Barlow, his nomination, confirmation, etc., has a blank page following, which *might* have been left, to register an event which never took place. We say nothing more than that, in the midst of so many reasons for doubt, this looks suspicious.

4. Because Barlow received, being not yet Bishop, 26th April, a grant of the temporalities of his See, couched in the most suspicious language, not as they generally were given "during the vacancy of the See," but "during the term of his natural life," the effect of which would have been that, had he never been consecrated, he would have nevertheless enjoyed the revenues of his See till his death. Why was his grant thus worded?

5. Because, in consequence of this grant, there seems no reason why he should have sought consecration. It cannot be urged that he believed in the necessity of consecration, as it has been proved that he openly declared he did not.

6. He was an utterly debased and disreputable scoun-

drel,[1] fearing neither God nor Devil, so no dread of giving scandal would touch him.

7. He only feared one man, and that man was the King, but in this case he had nothing to fear. Henry VIII. had declared his opinion, and proved it to his satisfaction from Scripture, that the King's nomination was equivalent to consecration, and rendered the latter unnecessary. Cranmer, Barlow, and other bishops had subscribed to this thesis of the royal theologian, who was *not*, as Mr Gore says, "conservative" in religious matters, unless he means by the term, that he held *mordicus* to his own views, which were partly in favour of the old faith, but were very largely modified to square with his new dogma of the Royal Supremacy.

If all these reasons, in spite of explanations made to lessen their force, do not establish at least a doubt as to Barlow's consecration, then it is difficult to understand what is doubt and what is certitude. [2]

[1] I hardly know if to take seriously, or to pass over as the result of a momentary loss of temper, Mr Gore's opposing to Mr Rivington's description of Barlow the character of Alexander VI. I ask Mr Gore: Did this Pope declare his disbelief in the necessity of Holy Orders? Did he, to show this disbelief, reject the Catholic Ordinal and invent a bran new one in which all *distinctive* Catholic teaching was expunged? Did he then depose the existing bishops of his Communion, and begin a new line consecrated by his new rite? If he did none of these things, where is the parallel? It is not necessary to observe, as it is quite foreign to the subject, that, much as Catholics disapprove of Alexander VI., they abhor still more the gross bad faith of those who calumniate this Pope by false accusations, drawn from the writings of his bitterest enemies, and of men far worse than he was. It is not thus, that calm, truthful history is written.

[2] What language is strong enough to condemn the untruthfulness of the *Church Times*, which informs an anxious enquirer in the number for January 18: "The *only* argument which has *ever* been raised against Barlow's consecration is that the particular document attesting the fact is missing."

Here let me expose a most preposterous idea invented by Dr Littledale, and which Mr Gore, who does not seem to have studied this subject very deeply, as we shall afterwards show, seems to have simply copied from the audacious essay on Anglican Orders, which the Doctor contributed to "The Priest's Prayer Book." Hodgkins, one of the bishops who assisted at Parker's ordination, was, they object, certainly a bishop, and this is acknowledged by Roman Catholics, therefore, since the four bishops present, Hodgkins among the number, are related in the account found in the Lambeth Register to have laid their hands on Parker and pronounced the form, such as it was, Parker was in any case consecrated by Hodgkins, even if the three others were not true bishops. Mr Gore adds, triumphantly: "That the assisting bishops are co-consecrators, when they do *not* recite the words, is certainly the more probable opinion, but when they all recite the words as well as lay on hands, there is surely no room for doubt" (p. 137).

What Mr Gore means by "the more probable opinion" I do not know — he is perhaps speaking of Anglican theologians. No Catholic theologian admits the existence of more than one consecrator or ordainer in the sacrament of Holy Orders. The term co-consecrator is nonsense. The Church only knows of one consecrator with whom the assistants co-operate, and even Parker's Register in its original form plainly describes Barlow as "Consecrator" and the others as "Assistentes." No Catholic theologian maintains that the assisting bishops consecrate *independently* of the celebrant, so that their act would be valid, if his were not. They co-operate in his *act;* if it does not take place, there remains no *opus* in which they can co-operate. If Mr Gore holds with Dr Littledale that Barlow had four independent consecrators, this may be Anglican theology, and as it does

not consider Holy Orders as a Sacrament at all, this is quite possible, but no such idea can be entertained by anybody who knows his treatise of "De Sacramentis in Genere."

If the effect of the historical enquiry is merely to leave a doubt as to the valid consecration of Parker, the theological aspect of the question makes all doubt impossible. Anglican ordination does *not* make a man a priest in the Roman Catholic sense of the word. That is all our contention, and we maintain that such was the conviction of all Anglican authorities, from the period of the Reformation down to quite recent times, and is still the conviction of all, except the very extreme Ritualists.

The very idea of the sacred ministry and of the sacrament of Holy Orders was changed at the Reformation. The "Popish" doctrine on this point was proclaimed erroneous, and what was termed the primitive evangelical doctrine was, said the Reformers, restored in its place. Mr Gore fails to notice the pregnant fact that Holy Orders now ceased to be accounted a Gospel sacrament. On this point nothing is clearer than the teaching of the Articles. No special pleading can change this fact. The excuse offered is that article xxv. is clumsy, vague, indefinite, and does not *mean* what its grammatical sense *says*. It is nothing of the kind, it is perfectly plain and straightforward, and can offer no difficulty to anyone who does not seek difficulties. The article plainly states—"There are two sacraments ordained by Christ our Lord in the Gospel, that is to say Baptism and the Supper of the Lord;" in direct opposition to the Catholic doctrine that there are seven sacraments ordained by Christ in the Gospel. In the words of the Holy Council of Trent—"Si quis dixerit, Sacramenta novæ legis (of the Gospel) non fuisse *omnia a Jesu Christo Domino nostro, instituta;* aut esse plura vel *pau-*

ciora quam septem . . . aut etiam *aliquod* horum septem, non esse *vere et proprié Sacramentum :* Anathema sit" (Less. vii. Can. 1).

The article goes on to say that the other five, among which it mentions Holy Orders, "are not to be counted sacraments of the Gospel, being such as *have grown*, partly of the corrupt following of the apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures." Matrimony, then, and Holy Orders are proclaimed "states of life." Penance, confirmation, and extreme unction, things which have grown in later times, and grown from a corrupt following of the apostles, therefore not instituted by Christ, or even by the apostles, but more on this when we are speaking of Anglican orthodoxy.

But what is Holy Order in the religion of Catholics? "Est Sacramentum, a Christo institutum, quo spiritualis potestas confertur et gratia, ad ecclesiastica munia rité, decenterque obeunda;" and, in particular, what in the Catholic religion is the priesthood, of which the perfection and crown is the Episcopate? It is—"Ordo quo confertur *specialis potestas Corpus et sanguinem Christi in Missæ celebratione consecrandi*, a peccatis absolvendi, subditosque opere ac doctrina pascendi." Now, I ask, is this what the Book of Common Prayer intends to confer on those ordained by the office called "The Ordering of Priests"? Let any one of my readers compare the Ordinal of the Roman Church with the Anglican Form, let him read them both attentively through, and then ask himself if it is possible to admit, that they were framed with the intention of producing the same results? The old English Catholic Ordinal was picked to pieces by Cranmer; a very few of the old elements were allowed to remain, carefully pruned of Popish error, and all the rest was flung away with contempt, for reasons which the Homilies and the other writings of the

Reformers give with striking frankness. All the passages in the old Ordinal which spoke of the power of offering Christ in the holy Sacrifice of the Altar were struck out, and changed for words and ceremonies in accordance with Protestant notions of the ministry. Notably the Tradition of the instruments (the touching of the chalice and paten) which was then, as the Reformers well knew, generally considered as absolutely essential for the making of sacrificing priests, and was considered the principal ceremony, was for this very reason changed to another remarkable, but absolutely novel ceremony, symbolical of the central doctrine of the Reformation. Instead of the chalice and paten, a Bible was placed into the hands of the candidate, and a travesty of the old words was used—"Take thou authority to preach the Word of God, and to minister the holy sacraments *in the congregation where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.*" These last words are very remarkable; they contain the exact doctrine of Calvin on the ministry. The candidate does not receive any *power* "in genere," he is merely set apart for a work, and given power, when lawfully appointed to a congregation, to do this work. Imagine a Catholic priest being ordained by the words, "Receive power to offer sacrifice in the Church to which the bishop will send you." The Reformers had their "Tradition of instruments" no less than the "Papists." It was the tradition of the Protestant version of the Bible, the Palladium of their creed, not the tradition of the instruments, necessary for offering the sacrifices of masses.

It matters nothing that this ceremony of the Tradition of the instruments is not now considered by most theologians, the most important ceremony in the ordaining of priests. The imposition of hands, extended over the candidates, with the words of that sublime and ancient

prayer beginning, "Oremus, Fratres Charissimi," etc., are now generally allowed to be respectively the matter and the form of the presbyterate. I have not the space to enter into this question, for which I must refer the reader to the books before mentioned, but it is not necessary. The absolutely essential nature of the Tradition of instruments was the received doctrine among Catholics at the period of the Reformation and long afterwards. It is still so respectable an opinion, that anyone ordained without it, would practically be in the same position as if he had not been ordained. His ordination would be *doubtful*, and he would commit sacrilege, if he dared to offer the Holy Sacrifice, until he had been re-ordained under condition.

The suppression, then, of this ceremony, and replacing it by the giving of the Bible, proved the intention and will of the compilers to make ministers utterly unlike the old "Mass Priests." Can there be any doubt on this point? Now it is a doctrine of the Catholic Church, a principle on which she has acted from the very beginning of the Anglican schism, that these acts (1) Denying that Holy Order is a true and real sacrament instituted by Christ, and is merely a state of life allowed in the Scriptures; (2) Denying that the presbyterate is composed of men having power to offer Christ in the sacrifices of masses for the quick and dead; (3) Having with malice aforethought, and *suadente diabolo*, out of hatred for the doctrine of the Catholic priesthood and the Holy Mass, entirely changed the old Catholic Ordinal, leaving certain parts, to show that they admitted them, and rejecting others containing sacrificial doctrine, to show that they denied them, omitting particularly the ceremony and the words by which they knew, Catholics believed the sacrificial power to be given, we say that by these acts, the Catholic Church holds with moral certitude, that

no priests capable of offering the holy sacrifice for the quick and dead were instituted.

I feel sure that, whatever the religious opinions of our readers, all men of reason and good English common sense will admit my conclusion, which really merely comes to this: that clergymen of the Established Church are not what Roman Catholic priests believe themselves to be.

I shall say no more on the theological questions raised concerning the matter and the form. I am not writing *ex-professo* on the subject, which has been so ably treated by Canon Estcourt, the Benedictine Fathers, Raynal and Breen, Dr Brady, and Mr Hutton, who, in spite of his loss of religious faith, has not changed in his belief in historical facts. Father Gallwey, S. J., has treated the subject with as much learning as humour. If I have only treated the question of the priesthood, it is because the negation of the true propitiatory sacrifice of the Mass is the source from which the invalidity of their orders flows—no priest, no bishop.

I have no complaint to make with Mr Gore's line of argument, as far as the matter of good faith goes; he is evidently following Dr Littledale's audacious essay on the "Priest's Prayer-Book." But as he did devote the longest chapter of his book to this pitiful subject, he was at least bound to work the question up thoroughly —this he has *not* done, and of this we *do* complain. He was bound to examine, not only what were the opinions of Anglican writers concerning holy orders, but also what were the doctrines of the Catholic Church. Had he done so, he could not have begun his argument by saying, with a jauntiness almost worthy of Dr Littledale, but which does not sit well on a serious Oxford theologian, "It would not be a matter of the first importance if this (Barlow's consecration) were doubtful, for

all the consecrating bishops laid their hands and all repeated the words" (p. 136). In Catholic theology this matter is simply of *essential* consequence, for Catholics know of but one consecrator, and, if he is doubtful, no amount of hands and no amount of Bible texts, will make that consecration rise higher than its source.

But I have a far more serious complaint to make against Mr Gore—one which would have justified me in refusing to discuss the subject with him, until he had given his truly acute and cultured intellect, the labour necessary to master the details of the subject.

In a note (p. 137) Mr Gore, in order to explain the remarkable Form used on the occasion, and the repetition of it by the three assisting bishops, says these extraordinary words, "This was apparently an exceptional precaution, derived from the precedent of Archbishop Chichele's consecration" (See Pusey's "Eirenicon," vol. i. p. 232). Before the appearance of the second edition, some friend had probably informed him, that he was quoting one of the most singular muddles, into which the profound but often misty intellect of Dr Pusey had ever slipped. However, the nature of this muddle could not have been explained to him, for he merely adds in his second edition the words "as corrected by Father Hutton." Now, as Father Hutton merely exposed the total error Dr Pusey had fallen into, it is difficult to know what Mr Gore can possibly mean.

The reader shall judge. Dr Pusey ("Eirenicon," p. 232) says that, to make assurance doubly sure, "the Form adopted was carefully framed on the old form used in the Consecration of Archbishop Chichele a century before" (1408-1559, a long century !). "The Form used in Chichele's time I could not trace further back." Its use was exceptional, having been resorted to at a time when the English Church did not acknowledge either of

the claimants of the papacy. "It was of the providence of God that they had that precedent to fall back upon."

If this were true, it would indeed be a strong point. The Church of England, once before, declaring her independence of Rome, had consecrated her Primate in a certain manner; what more proper, than that these bishops, who also had broken with the Papacy, should follow this patriotic example? Mr Bailey, the standard Anglican authority, calls it "a very important fact," and if it were a fact, he is quite right. But now for the correction of Father Hutton, with which Mr Gore asks us to modify the words of Dr Pusey. Father Hutton points out that Chichele, Bishop of St David's, and afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was consecrated in 1408, at Siena, BY THE POPE GREGORY XII. HIMSELF, with whom the English Church was in full communion!!!

To any other man than to Mr Gore I should be tempted to say, that such an utter want of knowledge, on the subjects he discusses would justify his antagonist, in merely relating this fiasco, and then saying not another word on Anglican orders; in fact, in appealing from Mr Gore uninformed, to Mr Gore better informed. After all, the English reader no less than "le lecteur français, veut être respecté" (Boileau, "L'Art Poétique").

Once more. Mr Gore triumphantly quotes an answer given by "The Congregation of the Inquisition" in 1704, confirmed in 1860, and made public by Canon Estcourt. He quotes it as decisive of the Roman recognition of the Anglican Form. Now, is it possible to acquit Mr Gore of gross carelessness, for knowing nothing of a fact which is well known to all who have studied this question, a fact which made a great stir in Anglican circles at the time? I refer, of course, to the letter of Cardinal Patrizi of April 30th, 1875, in answer to Cardinal Manning's

question, made 24th August 1874, "Whether the doctrine that imposition of hands, joined only to the words 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' suffices for the validity of the order of priesthood was contained implicitly or explicitly in the above-named decree?" The answer was: *negative.* The Cardinal adds, that the document in question (which, however, is not a Decree) does no more than declare "that the ordination of a priest among the Copts, conferred by the laying on of hands, and the pronouncing of the Form presented by their ancient rite, is to be considered valid; nor has the Holy Supreme Congregation *ever* declared, explicitly or implicitly, that the imposition of hands, with no other words than 'Receive ye the Holy Ghost,' suffices for the validity of the order of priesthood." The letter points out, that these words do not, and in no case did, constitute the *entire* Form among the Copts. It is impossible not to feel vexed with Mr Gore, for obliging an author to the loss of time and space, which these explanations have rendered necessary, and which a little more research on his part would have obviated.

See Works on Anglican orders by Canon Estcourt (London, Burns & Oates); W. Hutton (London, Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.); Father Breen, O.S.B. (Leamington Art and Book Co.); Father Raynal, O.S.B. (London, Richardson & Son); Father Gallwey, S.J. (London, Burns & Oates).

CHAPTER IX.

ANGLICAN ORTHODOXY.

THE subject of this chapter, owes its difficulties not only to the uncertain acceptation of the substantive, but also to the very indeterminate character of its qualifying adjective. What is meant by the word "Anglican"? Mr Gore reserves the title for the doctrines of his special school of thought, but we see no reason for this reservation. Dr Farrar and Dr Ryle have as much claim to it as Dr Pusey.

"Orthodoxy," again, to what standard? To the Prayer-book and Articles, or to the faith of the Universal Church? *We* can only consider Anglicanism in all its branches on the one side, and the Catholic Church, or at least the explicit teaching of the whole of Christendom prior to the Reformation, on the other.

As regards Mr Gore personally, my esteem for his talent cannot absolve me from the necessity of considering the doctrine taught in "The Roman Catholic Claims" as distinctly heretical, and no less so, than the doctrines of those who frankly accept the title of Protestant. His rule of faith; his definition of that theological virtue, which describes what Catholics call probability, whose modesty in merely "feeling its way with a certain amount of hesitation" (p. 50) receives Mr Gore's unstinted praise; his notion of an infallibility which requires the examination and approval of each individual Christian (see Appendix); his totally inadequate realization of the Real Presence, from which Christ's human body is absent, or,

at least, is in no particular spot—all this and much more, would be considered heresy, no less in Moscow and in Abyssinia than in Rome itself. But if he speaks of the Church of England, I must know what he means by the term, as I have no inclination to cross swords with a phantom.

I will begin, then, by exposing a delusive dream, a fable, very much in fashion nowadays with "Church Defence" lecturers, and which the terror of approaching Disestablishment, has constrained nearly all the various parties of the Anglican Church to adopt, at least *jusqu à nouvel ordre.*

The idea is this. It is assumed as a first principle, that from apostolic times, there has always existed a national Church in these islands, quite independent of Rome and of the rest of Christendom. That this Church in British, Saxon, and Norman times, struggled continually with the gradually usurping power of Rome, and the insidious introduction of popish doctrines, from which it was at first quite free, and against which it always protested. That this double yoke, becoming at length unbearable, the English Church, in the person of its bishops, seized the first opportunity, offered by a quarrel between Henry VIII. and the Pope, to assert her independence of papal jurisdiction, and to reform herself from popish errors. It is this reformed Church, or *via media,* whose orthodoxy Mr Gore proclaims.

Now, to the student of Tudor history (my earnest study for the last twenty-five years), with the wealth of documentary evidence, daily increasing, as MS. after MS. is being brought to light, the Anglican first principle can only appear as a fabulous, a monstrous delusion.

On the eve of the day when Henry VIII.'s lust was excited by the charms of Anne Boleyn, what was the state of the Church of England? She then formed two

important Provinces of the one Catholic Church—Provinces in full and perfect communion with Rome, and with all the other Churches in union with the Holy See. Her faith was identically the same as that of Rome and of the aforesaid Churches. Abuses in practice, existed among her members, as in all the European Churches.* Any wish to see these abuses reformed, was common to good men in all the Churches, not more so in England than elsewhere. The king had, a short time before, written an able theological defence of orthodox doctrine, in which the full supremacy and jurisdiction of the Pope were set forth and proved, together with the full doctrine of the sacraments, as taught later by the Council of Trent. This work had been hailed with delight by the bishops, clergy, and people of England. This Catholic country (none more so in Europe) was proud of its Catholic king. Will anyone with any knowledge

* It is impossible for me to find terms adequately to reject the gross exaggerations of Anglicans, when speaking of abuses which marked certain epochs of the Church's life. There have been periods when much evil existed among the clergy and laity, even among the *highest* dignitaries of the Church. But there never was an epoch, never a year, never a day since Jesus ascended into Heaven, that there has not existed on this earth, plainly visible to all men, a Society of pre-eminent sanctity, notable, not only by the holiness of its doctrines, but also by the heroic sanctity of multitudes of its members, teaching, by miracles and by example, both the precepts and counsels of the Lord Jesus. There never was a time, when the evil lives of the Church's children, were not evidently in opposition to the doctrines they professed, or rendered it difficult to distinguish the true Church from the heresies which surrounded it. The so-called dark ages (tenth and eleventh centuries), with all their abuses, were rich in saints. The Hagiography I have now before me, which is far from being exhaustive, counts one hundred and thirty canonized saints during this epoch, among them such well-known names as St Dunstan, St Edward, St Peter Damien, St Margaret, St Gregory, St Wenceslas, St Macarius, St Stephen of Hungary, and St Wulstan.

of history maintain, that King Henry's book taught a strange, un-English doctrine, personal to the king; that it was an opposition to the faith of the English episcopate and clergy; that it was not, on the contrary, the plain enumeration of the doctrine common to *all* the English schools? Had Convocation been summoned to give an answer to Luther instead of the king, would its voice have differed, otherwise than in style (if in that) from the book of the royal author, himself an accomplished theologian? The Church of England had no quarrel with the Church of Rome. She did not look upon the jurisdiction of the Pope as an usurpation, but taught his Supremacy in the very words of the Florentine definition—as an Article of revealed Faith. Her enemy in past ages, against which her bishops had often appealed to Rome, was the usurping Civil Power. The more holy her bishops, the bolder their appeal to Rome. The English Church counted among her saints and martyrs, those of her children who had suffered for their fidelity to Rome, and no saints were more popular with the common people, for the Church's cause was their cause.

The enemies of the Church had been at times, the king, and always a godless, licentious, and arrogant party among the nobility. These were by their nature opposed to Rome, though none had yet dared to deny the Pope's supreme spiritual power. A bad king, however, might count on these bad nobles, in any quarrel he might have with the Pope. The crash came. Henry defied the Pope, and bade the Convocation of bishops do likewise. Did they gladly, freely seize upon this opportunity for asserting their independence, and for ridding their Church of popish errors? Nothing of the kind. Grudgingly, unwillingly, bit by bit, in fear and terror, with humiliating and disgraceful cowardice and equivocation they bent to the storm. The one only saint

among them suffered martyrdom, rather than follow his craven brethren in their shameful apostacy. The rest were men, Catholic for the most part in belief, but not holy; they were unmortified, loving their ease, their luxuries, their great riches; trembling, with the craven fear of those who lead voluptuous lives, before the wrath of a king, whose wrath the bravest could hardly bear unmoved.

These unsaintly men, preferred riches, honours, and luxury with apostacy, to ruin, prison, and probably a cruel death with honour. But dare we, in the face of history, say that they *approved* of this breach with Rome, and with all the ancient glories of their order? Is there the slightest doubt, that in their hearts and consciences, they accepted the arguments the martyr Fisher made in his noble speech to Convocation? And this breach once consummated, did they gladly, freely, continue the work of destruction and of so-called reformation? Did they desire to see the sacred language of the Church changed for the vulgar tongue, the Missal and Breviary give place under Edward VI. to the "Book of Common Prayer"? History is there to prove that, if they were cowards, they did not descend to this abject folly. That work was done by those new creatures of the king—Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, and Hooper—men who, before the breach with Rome, would never have been raised to the episcopate, and who, by the wave of a Catholic reformation, would have been swept, with the other unworthy clerics of the time, into that disgrace their crimes merited. The old bishops looked on, or tried at least to delay the foul work. Many in their old age, obtained grace enough to make a partial stand under Edward VI., and to suffer deposition and imprisonment. At length, when Mary once more gave them liberty, they with joy cast off the cursed yoke for ever, and, chastened

by past misfortunes, remained true to the Old Faith, being ready under Elizabeth, to suffer imprisonment and exile rather than to yield again. Where then is this continuous English Church, whose orthodoxy we are asked to acknowledge? What has the present Establishment, raised on the ruins Elizabeth made of the Church she found standing, in common with the old Provinces of Canterbury and York, Provinces, in communion of faith and discipline with the Catholic world? All Rome asks of Englishmen now, is to accept that faith, which the entire Church of England held before Henry VIII., together with those salutary reforms in discipline, inaugurated by the Council of Trent, and which would have been hailed with joy, by every good man then in the country.

But, again, Mr Gore supposes a reformed English Church, a *via media*, repudiating popish errors on the one side, and Protestant heresies on the other. Such a Church has never had any existence. So far was the Established Church of Edward and Elizabeth, from repudiating, as Mr Gore and his friends do, foreign reformed Churches, that, throughout the reign of the latter, and until the time of Hooker, no single English divine hinted even, that Protestant reformed Churches were not portions of the visible Church of Christ. Neither did Hooker, the first of High Churchmen, condemn them. He considered their condition as lacking *something*, not essential but profitable; but he excused them, under the plea of their difficult position, and clearly laid down that in cases like theirs Episcopal government was not a *sine qua non*. Hooker never attacked *foreign* Protestants; the only non-episcopal bodies who came under his lash, were the Puritans of England, who refused to submit to the State Church.

If Hooker does not un-Church Catholics, it is not that he had an inkling of the Three-Branched theory, but

simply because he held, that no Christians were outside the Church, who acknowledged the divinity of Christ. He was a moderate Broad Churchman, with a dash of sacerdotalism—a seventeenth century Dr Salmon in fact, minus his comic vein, and plus a certain reverence, the latter would do well to imitate.

If modern High Churchmen, repudiate the heretical title of "Protestant," it is in direct contradiction with all the traditions of their school. The title was proudly claimed by all High Churchmen in the past—by Laud on the scaffold, by Cosin, and by Ken. It is the official title of the Episcopal Church of America, in full communion with the Church of England. It is given by the Archbishop of Canterbury as the title of the Anglican religion in the solemn moment when he crowns the sovereign in Westminster Abbey. Vain indeed is the plea that this office is not in the prayer-book, and therefore the Church of England is not responsible for it. I ask High Churchmen to answer this question—If, by an impossible hypothesis, the kings of France had been crowned by the Archbishop of Paris, surrounded by the French Episcopate, and the Archbishop had required the Sovereign to swear fidelity to the "Holy Catholic and Jansenistic Church," would they not reject as unworthy casuistry, the plea that the oath had only been imposed by the Civil Power, and was not in the Roman Pontifical, and that therefore the French Church was not Jansenistic, but Catholic and Roman? Vain also is the plea that "Protestant" is patient of a good signification, viz., the opposition to all error. As well might Catholics accept the terms of Gnostic or Puritan, on the same plea. Heresies have their names like other things, and who accepts the *name*, accepts the *thing signified*. Protestantism, a heresy as well known as Nestorianism, is condemned and anathematised by the Greek and Russian

Churches no less than by the Catholic Church, and under this anathema are included *all* who accept the title.

From the Reformation down to the Act of Uniformity of 1662, the State *Church,* while bitter in its persecution of English dissenters, had no quarrel with what its divines termed, the foreign "reformed Churches." Their cause was its cause, and the common enemy was the popish Antichrist; full communion existed between all the Reformed Churches. The Establishment gave up to them, ancient places of worship in London, Dover, Canterbury, and elsewhere.

When Vorstius, the professor of Leyden, ventured to attack the heresies of Calvin, and to maintain doctrines, now almost universally received in the Church of England, James I., indignant at this presumption, sent an admonition to the States-General of Holland declaring that "it would be his duty, if such pestilent heresies were suffered to nestle among them, *to separate from their Communion*, and to seek the aid of *other foreign Churches* in common council assembled, and to remand to hell such abominable doctrines" (Lingard, "Reign of James I.") * The anti-Calvinistic and true doctrines of Vorstius, were condemned by the English bishops, and, by the advice and pressure of James, a council of the reformed Churches was held at Dort, in Holland. The Dutch Church, the Churches of Geneva, the Palatinate, the Scotch Kirk, and the Church of England, which sent two bishops and two theologians, were all represented. The latter took the leading part in the debates, voted and subscribed with the rest. They only objected to *one* of the Conciliar canons, which declared the equality of bishops and presbyters, and which, in spite of their opposition, was passed by an overwhelming majority.

By the Act of Uniformity, 1662—a mere Act of

* For interesting details of the Synod of Dort, see Dodd.

Parliament—office in the State Church was refused to those who had not received episcopal ordination, but no rejection of the *status* of foreign reformed Churches has ever been made, either by the Church or the State of England.

If we turn from the discipline of the reformed Church to its doctrine, as expressed in the prayer-book, canons, and homilies, no possible doubt of its Protestantism can remain.

It is difficult to make quite sure what is Mr Gore's standard of orthodoxy, what he means by "articles of faith." In one place he seems to accept the Catholic definition: "All those doctrines which, being revealed by God, are proposed as such to our belief by the Catholic Church." But (p. 65) he seems to dally with, if not quite to accept, the old Protestant distinction of articles of faith, some of which are essential, and some non-essential. As Bossuet and every Catholic writer on the subject points out, such a distinction is a non-sense. A doctrine is certainly revealed by God or it is not. If it is not, it is no article of faith. If it is, it rests, like every other article of faith, on the same basis—God's omniscient veracity. It is as essential that we should believe one, as that one should believe another, and if we deny one, we deny all—by denying the foundation on which they all rest.

I do not press this further, because Mr Gore is here very vague. He is anxious to find standing-room for the Low Church party, who plainly denounce and repudiate the doctrines he holds concerning the sacraments and the priesthood, and yet he cannot but believe these latter to be distinctly articles revealed by God, and no less so than the Trinity or the Incarnation.

But how are these doctrines of Revelation and of Catholic faith treated by the prayer-book? Can the

quibbles (I can give them no other name) invented by the Ritualists stand one moment before the examination of critical inquiry? We shall see. It is a doctrine held by Mr Gore as divinely revealed, that the sublime service, called by Catholics before and after the Reformation "The Sacrifice of the Mass," is a true and real propitiatory sacrifice, of the body and blood of Christ, made by the priest at the altar. The thirty-first Article of religion, plainly states that "the sacrifices of Masses, in which it was commonly said, that the priest did offer Christ for the quick and dead, for the remission of pain and guilt, were blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits."

The answer now given by Mr Gore's school, is that the above words have nothing at all to do with the sacrifice of the Mass (*Church Times*, February 3, 1888), but merely allude to "a certain vulgar error of which the very memory had in modern times perished." This mysterious error, against which it was thought necessary to compose an article, we are told, is described by the Confession of Augsburg, and it taught that every mass, was a wholly new offering, not one and the same as the Sacrifice of Calvary, and that, whereas the latter was only offered for the redemption of man from original sin, the former was instituted to redeem him from his daily actual sins. Can Mr Gore, or any of his friends, produce one single theological writer, maintaining so wild and impious an assertion? Can he bring any *proof* that such a doctrine was ever held in any part of the Catholic Church, or even heard of? I say *proof*, and not the mere assertion of a Lutheran formulary.*

* On the contrary, Bossuet informs us in his "Variations" that, when the Confession of Augsburg was read, the Catholics challenged the Protestants to quote one Catholic author who thus taught, and none could be found.

But, in any case, all this is merely lost time. The proposition condemned by the article admits of no doubt whatsoever; it is in perfectly plain, straightforward terms. It announces the Catholic doctrine in correct and theological language. It condemns what every Catholic, nay, what every Greek, Copt, or Nestorian holds to be God's revealed truth. All who hold the ancient faith in the adorable Eucharistic Sacrifice, hold that, in the sacrifices of Masses, the priest offers Christ to His Eternal Father, and that he offers Him, in order to obtain by this real, true, propitiatory oblation, the remission not only of the guilt or stain of sin, but also of all penalties due to sin. The term "sacrifices of masses"—*missarum sacrificia*—is perfectly correct, and means the distinct and separate celebrations of the holy sacrifice. The very words "*missarum sacrificia*"—sacrifices of masses—are used in the decree of the Council of Florence, and their meaning was perfectly known to the Reformers, who, having been brought up in Roman theology, used very correctly its terminology when they wished to condemn the faith.

It follows that, even according to Mr Gore's alleged standard, "the faith of the undivided Church," this thirty-first article is distinctly heretical.

One heresy is more than enough to cut off the body which professes it from the Church of Christ, but let us look at one more, then we shall have done with this part of our subject, although I could easily enumerate many more instances, in which, according to *all* Christendom, East and West, outside Protestantism, the Church of England would be condemned as heretical.

The declaration at the end of the Protestant Communion service denies, in the very plainest words, the presence of our Lord's true, real, human body in the Blessed Sacrament, for it proclaims that "the natural body of our Saviour Christ *is* in heaven and *not here*, it

being against the truth of Christ's natural body to be at one time in more places than one."

Every effort has been made to show that by the words natural body, all that is denied, is the very self-evident truth, that Christ is not present in the exterior accidents of His humanity. But these quibbles are in vain. Three distinct affirmations are made in this passage. 1*st*, Christ has a natural body. This is undoubtedly true; His sacred body, although glorified, is nevertheless a true, real, natural human body. 2*nd*, This body is in Heaven, which all Christians must believe. 3*rd*, This body is *not* here in the Blessed Sacrament. Therefore, unless it is supposed that Christ has *two* bodies, which would be another heresy, the Article asserts that Christ's body is not present, and that the bread and wine only represent His body and blood, and are called so merely by analogy. This conclusion is rigorous, and cannot be evaded.

Catholics assert, on the contrary, that this natural human body of the God-man is in heaven *and* in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and that it is not against the truth of Christ's natural body, that it should be, by a miracle of God's power, present in substance in more than one place at the same time.

But if, from the dead letter of the formularies, we pass to the living Anglican communion, we find that in it every heresy flourishes; that almost any error can be *openly* held by her bishops and clergy, without in the least cutting them off from the communion of the Church. After all, as Mr Gore says, "the poor and uneducated must depend upon their immediate teachers;" nay, we have shown that they are indeed few who have either the talent, the opportunities, or the leisure to make a personal study of antiquity. Therefore, to the greater number, the clergy must be the immediate source, from which they have to know, what they must believe, and what thy must do. In presence of the perfect Babel

of discordant tongues now to be heard in the Establishment, I ask Mr Gore how it is possible for Anglicans to "hear the Church"? Not only is the simple Anglican surrounded by clergymen mutually contradicting each other, but even should a poor man close his ears to all others, and submit his intellect to his parish clergy, it will not help him long. In a few short years, as in an instance which occurs to me, all may be changed. A new Rector, with new Curate, may make a transformation little short of a new religion; the new faith, like the old, being taught him as the pure doctrine of our "beloved and reformed Church."

This utter lack of unity of doctrine, Mr Gore admits and bewails, but he maintains that it does not touch "Anglican orthodoxy." The creed of the Church is sound. "The evil is not that the Church is heretical, but that men are allowed to teach in her name what is not her doctrine"* (p. 182). This, he says, is not heresy, but merely "a failure in doctrinal discipline."

But such a toleration of heresy is distinctly heretical, and renders any body guilty of it, excommunicate from the Church of Christ.

The Catholic Church can neither teach nor tolerate heresy, the one or the other would be equally fatal to her mission.

* Are we to take Mr Gore seriously when he quotes against Catholic orthodoxy, the self-evident but pious exaggeration of that dear and saintly old lady, now with God, Mother Margaret Hallahan, which burst from her lips in her first fervour at seeing the Holy Father say mass? Let any one maintain, as a theological proposition, that the Pope is "the god of this earth," and we shall see if it will be tolerated. It would be an impertinence for me to say more, than that every Catholic would subscribe with pleasure, the holy doctrine contained in Mgr. Gilbert's beautiful "Love of Jesus." That it shocks Mr Gore, merely proves, as I said before, that he does not believe in the Real Presence.

Mr Gore quotes in his favour the words of St Basil (Epistle xc.), in which he laments the sorrows of the Church under the tyranny of the Arian emperors and the apostacy of Julian. But the quotation contains nothing *ad hoc*. In spite of all the violence of powerful heretics, the Church protested with all her might, and refused to budge an inch from the exact words of the Nicene definition. The tyranny of the Civil power could never with justice be brought against the orthodoxy of the Church of England, if she, in the person of her bishops and clergy, protested against it, and refused the *communion* of the State imposed heretics. No one would think of making her responsible for the doctrines taught in her Churches under the Commonwealth. But no rule known to Catholic antiquity can acquit the Church of England, as a whole, of the perfect solidarity with the numberless heresies — negation of baptismal regeneration, of sacramental truth, of sacerdotal powers, of eternal punishment,* of the inspiration of Scripture, of the personality of Satan, and the lawfulness of polygamy — held openly by bishops and clergy, taught in sermons and in writings, without any official protest from the Church corporately, without the slightest loss of communion for the culprits. Nay, the guilty are on a *perfect* equality with the "orthodox," and every position in the Church is equally open to the one as to the

* It is difficult to characterise in moderate language Dr Littledale's late article in the *Church Quarterly*, in which he accuses the Catholic Church of to-day of equal laxity on this point. The authors he quotes are strictly orthodox, and teach what it has *always* been permissible to hold in the Church, but if any priest dared to breathe a word against the *eternity* of the punishment of the lost, he would be instantly suspended *a divinis*. Mr Gore's idea of making the Church responsible for the theological opinions of Mr Mivart, great authority as he is in the scientific world, surely requires no notice.

other. When the distinctly heretical judgment in favour of Mr Gorham was proclaimed to be the law of the Church of England, a nobly-worded Protestation of individuals, was signed by the very flower of the High Church party—the names of Pusey and Keble and Denison are affixed to the declaration, that this doctrine is heretical, and that, unless the Church of England in her official capacity rejected it, she would be bound to it. For thirty and more years Convocation has met, and never has the least repudiation of the Gorham judgment been made. Yet Dr Pusey, Mr Keble, and Archdeacon Denison shrank from their brave and publicly-made declaration, remained in their offices, and in full communion with heretics. The Bishop of Exeter truly stated Catholic doctrine, when, in his letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, he appealed to his Metropolitan not to give mission to Mr Gorham, adding, "I protest that anyone who gives mission to him till he retract is a favourer and supporter of those heresies. I protest, in conclusion, that I cannot *without sin*, and, by God's grace, *I will not*, hold communion with him, be he who he may, who shall so abuse the high commission which he bears." In spite of this the Archbishop *did* give mission to Mr Gorham, and the words of Henry of Exeter were, like those of Pusey, of Keble, and of Denison, mere verbiage, *verba et voces*, for he remained in full communion with the Primate and with all the other Bishops and clergy of the Established Church until his death.

The early Tractarians were men of learning and, for the most part, men of tender consciences. Their study of antiquity had taught them, that a Church which, in the persons of all its Bishops, remains in full communion with heretics, is an apostate Church. They wanted to see what the *Ecclesia docens* would do after the

Gorham judgment, and when they found that no official protest, no resistance would be made, their eyes were opened, and they left for ever the city of confusion and the house of bondage.

Mr Gore, when he maintains that a national episcopate, clergy, and people can remain in full communion with those who reject baptismal regeneration, teaching and spreading the contrary doctrine by every means in their power, has the sad courage to deny, what the noblest of his school proclaimed, and to follow Pusey and Keble in the decrepitude of their vigour, rather than in the glorious days of their fuller grasp of Catholic truth.

I do not envy Mr Gore his task, and I cannot repress the thought, in spite of his words to the contrary (p. 23), that sometimes, when reading the glowing pages of that generous struggle, in which men who had all to lose—place, means, friendship, and power—tore up the deepest-rooted, the tenderest fibres of their hearts, snapped ties, dearer than the love of man and wife, rather than remain any longer among the tents of Kedar; I say, nothing will make me believe that, conning the annals of that war of heroes, the generous heart of my gifted adversary is not tempted to envy a Manning, true to his plighted word, rather than a "patient" Pusey, whose name stands on the *same* page, who protested, who signed, but —— who remained.

APPENDIX.

A SECOND edition of Mr Gore's book having appeared, with a new Preface and several important changes in the body of the work itself, it seems necessary to say a few words on these additions.

Mr Gore, true to the *via media*, divides his preface into two parts—the first contains an attack on Mr Rivington's spirited essay, "Dust," the second, which has the lion's share, is a friendly Eirenicon offered to Dr Salmon of Trinity College, Dublin.

1. On the question of St Hippolytus Mr Gore definitely throws over that bitter no-popery writer, Dr Wordsworth, and accepts Mr Rivington's quotations from Dr Döllinger, so there seems no more to be said, except to remind Mr Gore that, when he speaks of "all scholars," he seems to forget that in Patristic lore Cardinal Newman is *the* scholar *par excellence*, and *he* certainly does not admit, that the gross and insolent outrage against St Callistus, are the words of St Hippolytus.

2. As to the False Decretals, he repeats, what Mr Rivington did not deny, that they inaugurated a new epoch of Canon Law, based on *documents* which had no primitive authority. He forgets to say, that the reforms instituted in their name were excellent, and favourable to the best liberty of the episcopate, delivering the bishops from the usurpations and perpetual interference of their Metropolitans—an abuse which was far more contrary to primitive discipline, than the False Decretals, and could far less base itself on any documents of the Early Church. After all, what rule more reasonable

than that bishops should be judged by the first of their order, and not be at the mercy of any wretched tool foisted, too often, into a metropolitan See by the Civil power?

3. As Mr Rivington entirely demolished the theory set up by Mr Gladstone, which was based on errors of fact, now proved to be so, by the thorough and impartial investigation of the Custodian of the public Records, it would have been more ingenuous if Mr Gore had accepted his defeat on this subject, and not, while recognising the faulty nature of his minor premise, held on with one hand to his conclusion.

Mr Gladstone is a man of talent and even genius, but he is not to be blindly followed in questions of historical research, when his peculiar theological views are in question. His argument, seized on with a too eager avidity by Mr Gore, is briefly as follows:—Convocation, under Henry VIII., acknowledged the King as Supreme Head of the Church of England; Convocation, under Mary, did not formally repeal this Act.

Therefore it was technically still binding when Elizabeth came to the throne, and she had the right to exact the oath of Supremacy from the then existing bishops, and to depose them on their refusal.

Mr Rivington has shown, that the submission of Convocation was null and void *ipso facto* from the first, as it lacked the essential condition of liberty. It was no more a free Act, than the heretical decree of the Robber Council of Ephesus. It was not even *voted*, save by the cowardly silence of the terrified prelates.

Convocation did all that was necessary, and more than all, to repeal this unlawful Act, by proclaiming the Supremacy of the Pope as an article of faith, and by imploring absolution from the Holy See.

It is well to remark, that they could do nothing else. It was impossible for them to repeal an Act, which was null and void *ab initio*, and even the Act of Parliament which abolished the part the civil power had had in the matter, rather quashed than repealed it, for it declared that the title of

"the head of the Church was never *lawfully* held by the Crown."

Mr Gore's observations on Dr Salmon's new work, "The Infallibility of the Church," is another and far more serious matter. I am quite ready to make every allowance for the difficult and painful position of our gifted author. His Branch theory obliges him, when addressing the left wing of Anglicanism, to take the broadest and most tolerant view his conscience will permit, no less than it forces him, when addressing Catholics, to approach the nearest he can to the standard of rigid orthodoxy. But my complaint is that, even for his theory, he has gone too far in his concessions. He offers hostages to the cause of unbelief, which it will not even thank him for, but which it will use with fatal effect against him. Dr Salmon is a rising star of the Broad Church party, of the shade called "High Broad," tinged with that hatred of Rome which is a *sine qua non* of Irish Protestantism.* To him Mr Gore seems to say, "Do not be afraid of our infallibility of the Church, it only differs in words from what you yourself admit, 'the Church to teach; the Bible to prove.'" By this dictum Dr Salmon explains he means, that it is in the writings of famous Christian writers, particularly of primitive ones, that we are to seek the record of historical Christianity; it is *then* for the individual to turn to the Bible, as the Court of final appeal, to see if this record tallies with the written Word, and, if not, to reject it. Surely no Protestant however ultra would say more. Mr Gore, of course, makes far more of the verdict of the Fathers, and he gently urges, "I *think* I may *venture* to criticise *some* of Dr Salmon's *minor* statements" (*italics* our own). "I *think* he must admit that we read the Fathers on matters of faith with *something more* than a purely historical object." Imagine an Athanasius, a Jerome, or an Augustine taking *such* a tone on *such* a subject. However, anxious not to misrepresent him, I wrote to Mr Gore explaining my object. "If," I asked, "the Church, *i.e.*, as he explains in his work, the record of the Church's

* Dr Salmon indulges also in a comic vein when treating of holy things, vulgarly called "chaff," but which Mr Gore considerately styles "a facile pen, and lightened by the play of a quick sense of humour" (Preface, p. viii.).

Œcumenical belief, is to teach, who is the judge? And he answers: "Of course the individual must judge, as St Vincent Lerins, St Chrysostom, and St Cyril of Jerusalem bade him do." Truly, Dr Salmon need not fear Mr Gore's "infallibility of the Church." The Œcumenical teaching of the Church on Bible truth is "infallible," but the individual is the judge, of what this consists in, of what it is. Truly, I understand why he says, that the poor and the ignorant have no part to play here, they must "depend upon their immediate teachers;" but would he tell us how many of the *most learned* men now living would, by such means, attain to unity of belief? Does he imagine that Dr Salmon, himself, and Cardinal Newman, for example, would by this process arrive at a common *credo?* But even this shifting basis, this *petra*, is undermined. Even when the individual has satisfied himself as to the Œcumenical teaching of antiquity, he is not dispensed from seeing for himself if this infallibility has *rightly* judged; "nor further should we regard the creed of an accepted Œcumenical Council as of infallible authority, in such sense as to dispense with verification in Scripture, or render such verification rationalistic" (p. x.). Like a true disciple of Dr Pusey, Mr Gore does not say what the individual has to do if he does *not* find the perfect conformity he seeks. May he in this case reject an authority, which in *some* sense, though not in "such sense," is infallible? If not, his right and duty of appeal seem of little value.

But this Preface contains something even more sad. The one bright spot in Mr Gore's work was the admission he makes (p. 52) that, after all, General Councils are not necessary, that the verdict of the Church diffusive is of equal value; and this is a Catholic and self-evident doctrine, if the Church is the Teacher sent from God, and her universal teaching on faith and morals, the voice of the Holy Ghost. But no, Mr Gore abandons this last slender link which bound him to a better theology. He says plainly, "Nor should we regard the current teaching of the Church, at any particular moment, as infallible on *every* point of faith." I was very anxious not to misrepresent him as to his meaning of the words "current" and "point of

faith," and so I asked him to tell me plainly did he then mean, that the whole Church everywhere, could, at a given moment, and during an indefinite period, teach doctrines as being articles of faith and parts of Divine revelation, which were in point of fact errors? I will give his whole answer in his very words: "I mean by current teaching, the ordinary teaching of the Church, as opposed to Conciliar dogmas. I do not believe that the Church as a whole has ever failed, or will ever fail, to teach the whole truth as revealed, but over and above this, I see no reason to doubt that error might exist *universally* in the current teaching of the Church. The Church as a whole has always taught the whole truth, but whether it has taught nothing but the truth is another question." He adds in another letter: "At the same time the current teaching, *i.e.*, the ordinary teaching of *even the whole Church*, may at any moment contain error of addition, *i.e.*, points may be taught *as part of the faith* which are *not* of faith, *i.e.*, which have not the security of revelation over and above what has" (*italics* my own).

It is not necessary to point out what an utter shipwreck of the faith is thus consummated. Unhappy humanity has no assurance, no certitude. In following, not only the voice of their immediate teachers, but of all the bishops and pastors of their time and of many centuries before them, in doing, what these tell them with one voice, is pleasing to Almighty God; in believing, what these tell them is the revelation of that God who cannot lie, Christians may haply be holding to "blasphemous fables and dangerous deceits," and offering worship which is rank superstition and idolatry—"fond things vainly invented and repugnant to the Word of God" (see 39 Art. *passim*).

Is not the natural effect of such doctrine upon all non-Catholics, whose minds have not been saturated in an atmosphere of High Church ecclesiastical fogginess, to turn with relief to the consolation of pure Deism, and to believe that, if there be a God at all, He has left us to the mere dictates of our Reason, and that we shall not have to render an account, for either what we believe, or what we do, if

only we can persuade ourselves that both are in accordance with Reason?

How different is the belief of the Catholic! as Cardinal Manning draws out in that admirable little Essay, "Religio Viatoris." His reason tells him that there is a God, and tells him with equal force that, without some revelation from that God, it would be practically impossible for mankind to arrive at the perfect knowledge even of the natural law, how much less of the mysteries of religion. But that God-given Reason of his tells him also that if God has deigned to make a revelation He cannot have refused him a "Divine Teacher," without which, revelation itself would but be a snare. This Divine Teacher must be so evident, so set upon a hill, that He cannot be hid; He must be of such a nature, that all, ignorant and learned alike, may distinguish Him; and He must speak with the authority of God Himself, imposing, not a limited, moderate obedience, but that submission which the creature owes to the voice of his Creator. If this be true, then is "life worth living," then indeed is man's destiny worthy of his sublime origin. But if not, then among all the unhappy creatures of this poor world, man, with his innate insatiable love of truth, of goodness, and of immortality, man is of all beings the most miserable. But blessed be God

> "In PETRA exaltavit me, et *nunc*, exaltavit
> Caput meum super inimicos meos."

I have purposely avoided, in a book intended for the general reader, the subtleties of Scholastic Philosophy, but as some Anglicans *will* quote and explain St Thomas Aquinas himself, without any of that previous traditional instruction, so absolutely essential, it is well to say a word on a passage, calculated to mislead a reader, uninitiated in Aristotelian phraseology. I have met with Anglican authors who triumphantly quote as the words of St Thomas: "In no manner is the Body of Christ in this Sacrament, locally." This proves two things: the danger of quoting a phrase without its context, and the further danger of translating scholastic Latin into modern English. I despair of making the words which follow clear to the best Latin

scholar, if he has never received a thorough instruction in Scholastic Philosophy ; however, by paying attention to the words in italics, the reader will, I trust, be able to understand the aim of the Angelical Doctor, which is to show that Christ's Sacred Body is present under the species, after the manner of a pure substance, *after the manner* of the presence of the soul in the Body.

Summa, Pars. 3, *Qæst.* 75, *Art.* 5—Utrum Corpus Christi sit in hoc sacramento sicut in loco?

Respondeo dicendum, quod sicut jum dictum est : Corpus Christi non est in Sacramento, secundum proprium modum quantitatis *dimensivæ*, sed magis *secundum modum substantiæ.* Omne autem corpus, locatum est *in loco*, secundum suam quantitatem *dimensivum.* Unde, relinquitur quod Corpus Christi non est in Sacramento, *sicut in loco*, sed per modum substantiæ, eo scilicet modo, *quo substantia continetur a dimensionibus* (remark, Christ's Body is as truly restricted to the sacred species, as the substance of the bread was, before the Consecration, when *it* was present) : succedit enim Substantia *Corporis Christi* in hoc sacramento, substantiæ *panis :* unde, sicut substantia panis, *non erat sub suis dimensionibus localiter*, sed per modum substantiæ, ita, nec substantia Corporis Christi. (The mode of the Presence is said to be "*non localiter*," simply because the Saint denies this term, to the presence of a *substance*, but should we in the English of to-day, say that the presence of the substance of a piece of bread, was not a *local* presence?)

Then follow a few words in which, with the subtle accuracy of Mediæval Philosophy, St Thomas shows a distinction between the position of the substance of Christ's Body, and the position of the substance of bread, which has made place for it. The latter : "comparabatur ad locum illum, mediantibus *propriis* dimensionibus." The former "mediantibus dimensionibus *alienis.*" Then follow the words "*Unde*, nullo modo, Corpus Christi est in hoc sacramento *localiter.*" Such being the signification given to the word "*localiter*," this is quite clear.

But does this in any way oppose the presence of Christ's Body, in the Tabernacle and in the Monstrance? Billuart,

that Prince of Thomists, after giving the same doctrine as that stated above, clearly adds: "Christus, ad motum specierum, movetur, *revera localiter, sicut anima movetur ad motum corporis;* unde dicitur: elevari, deferri, etc, non *per se*, sed per accidens.

THE END.

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